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Worldwide Report

ARMS CONTROL

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20 OCTOBER 1986

WORLDWIDE REPORT
ARMS CONTROL

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

USSR'S BOVIN PUBLISHES BOOK ATTACKING SDI

LD220516 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 21 Aug 86

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS -- A world based on the "balance of fear" is by no means the best of the worlds, Aleksandr Bovin writes in his book "Space Fantasies and Earthy Realities," issued by the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishing house. One of the most pressing political questions of the late twentieth century is whether the arms race will spread to near-earth space or it will be possible to stop this process. Revealing the meaning of the Strategic Defence Initiative which, as the U.S. President put it, will allegedly make nuclear weapons powerless and obsolete, Aleksandr Bovin writes that the "star wars" programme does not provide for a change of offensive arms but adds new strike systems to them and creates favourable conditions for a disarming first strike.

The attempts to carry through the "star wars" programme can upset the strategic parity because the Soviet Union will have to take measures in response. There exists only one way out of the nuclear-missile deadlock: The USSR and the USA should come to agreement to reverse the arms race on earth and to prevent it from spreading to space. Aleksandr Bovin stresses that there exist realistic opportunities for this. And if the search for a mutually acceptable compromise is thwarted, this will be due only to the position of the USA which is reluctant to give up its SDI. The space shield it is going to create will turn out to be one more sword of Damocles threatening all countries and peoples.

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CSO: 5200/1599

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

USSR'S KRASNAYA ZVEZDA VIEWS X-RAY LASER TECHNOLOGY

PM121507 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (First Edition) in Russian 3 Sep 86 p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Baberdin "Military-technical Review": "Stamped 'Special Importance'"]

[Text] To begin with, a brief excursion into history. On 14 November 1980, the American magazine AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY reported, a routine underground nuclear explosion was carried out at the testing range in Nevada, seemingly a commonplace event for American military circles. The yield of the explosions was small, but the very fact was of particular significance in the Pentagon's plans. The validity of the idea of creating a fundamentally new type of weapon was being tested in practice--the nuclear- pumped X-ray laser. A weapon which foreign military experts count among the "most promising U.S. means of strategic defense" and call "third-generation nuclear weapons."

The role of the main ideologists and developers of the project has been assumed by specialists at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory of radiation, a scientific center known for its direct involvement in designing the first hydrogen bombs and creating such means of mass destruction as the warheads for MX missiles, B-83 bombs, and special warheads which "penetrate the earth" and are designed to destroy command centers and underground missile silos...

In a word, the link with the Pentagon has deep roots, and military orders stamped "special importance" have become commonplace. However, there are no models in the past for what is being done at the laboratory now. "Never before," the WASHINGTON POST wrote, "have the old hands at the Livermore Laboratory experienced such a high tempo and busy pace. The most talented, energetic young physicists in America has been brought in to work on a new type of weapon." It has also become known that President R. Reagan personally is displaying keen interest in the results of the research.

So what is the nature of the projects being worked on, behind which, according to observers, there lies the creation [sozdaniye] of a "superweapon"? In an interview for Western journalists (Dzh.) Miller, leader of the arms research program, said: "We are only just beginning to grasp the consequences of this type of weapon, this type of technology... The weapons we have been involved with in the past acted in a highly unselective way. The new technology ensures a high degree of selectiveness."

A fairly complete picture of what lies behind these words is provided by materials published in SCIENCE magazine. The third generation of nuclear warheads is distinguished from the last two generations (atomic and hydrogen) by the fact that the energy of the nuclear explosions is used in a directed way, in the form of X-ray beams, electromagnetic microwaves, or gamma rays, which are focused on a distant target. In accordance with this, work is under way in several spheres simultaneously--designs are being created for atom bombs using an electromagnetic pulse which are capable of putting communications systems out of action, "optical laser bombs," "high-speed cluster bombs" [skorostnyye kassetnyye bomby], and "gamma-ray bombs." The priority, however, according to the foreign press, is assigned to nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers.

Why X-ray lasers specifically? The point is, foreign military experts explain, that theoretically the energy of X-rays can be 100, 1,000 or even 10,000 times greater than the energy of lasers in the optical range, and that they are capable of penetrating considerable thicknesses of various materials. By comparison with other "third-generation" nuclear bombs, this radiation is easier to focus into beams and to direct.

X-rays in space are generally a familiar phenomenon. Such rays are emitted by distant stars and arise in the "furnaces" of atomic transformations of super-high plasma [sverkhvysokaya plazma]. But how can so much energy be "conserved" in a mobile military device? Scientists from Livermore, who are in the pay of the military department, have suggested using a conventional nuclear bomb of medium yield for this purpose.

In outline, the operation of the X-ray laser is described thus in foreign publications. A nuclear device of several kilotons is installed on board an orbital combat space station. About 10 lasers are sited around it, their active medium being concentrated in thin rods. Each of the rods is targeted on a space device by a special targeting system. When the nuclear device is exploded, all the lasers are pumped and more than 10 targets are destroyed--enemy ICBM's, orbital stations, ABM systems... According to the foreign press, the laser operates in less than a millionth of a second, after which the rods containing the active substance are destroyed by the shock wave from the nuclear explosions.

In discussing the destructive factors, the magazine AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY emphasizes the thermal and radiation effect.

Foreign specialists believe that X-ray lasers will be used mainly in space. Opinions are also voiced to the effect that with high intensity radiation they could destroy targets in the upper strata of the atmosphere at an altitude of 60-80 km, by means of forming "transparent" channels in the path of the dissemination of the beam. However, it is noted that in order to utilize this effect the power of the existing X-ray lasers would have to be increased by several orders of magnitude. The resolution of this problem is also classed as being of "special importance."

As yet, the "debates" are taking place behind closed doors, as the saying goes. But what filters through to the press gives some idea of the "stumbling blocks" encountered by those who entertain the idea of a "super-weapon." Foreign observers note, for instance, that even on the explosions of a low-yield source of pumping, there is a high probability that the shock wave could destroy your own space devices near the station, while satellites further away could feel the effects of the clouds of radioactive plasma which would form. There are still many gray areas, the Western press stresses, both in terms of the implementation of concrete technical solutions and in terms of possible applications of the new type of weapon. The designers encountered serious problems even at the stage of designing the X-ray laser in principle. It has been reported in the press that the series of tests carried out yielded disturbing results. But money has been appropriated, and in large sums, and so the reports attempt to embellish the picture, juggle the facts, and claim distortions in the instrument readings. There are evidently many interested influential people who would very much like to take their plans to their conclusion by any possible means.

The designs for the new "superweapon" are still only designs. Their realization is called into question by many people, since even scientists state that it is technically very difficult to embody in metal the "physics of these processes, and on this basis to create combat devices suitable for operation," which will take years of work and substantial expenditure.

The cost of only one underground test of an X-ray laser is estimated at 50 million dollars, according to NEWSDAY. "Inquiring" voices are raised more and more often in Congress, but nonetheless the research in this sphere continues.

The overall leadership of the research is in the hands of the notorious Edward Teller. That same Teller who is known as the father of the American hydrogen bomb. He is largely credited with the expansion of the finance for the operations, because of the influence he has been able to bring to bear on Reagan. It is no accident that the Western press calls Teller's new offspring the "heart" of the President's "star wars" shield.

The real state of affairs lies behind these words. Despite the fact that Reagan often describes his defense initiative as "nonnuclear," research into third-generation nuclear weapons is swallowing up a significant proportion of the appropriations allocated to SDI. And of course, these developments are associated one way or another with many of the 1,000 underground nuclear explosions which, the American press reports, have been sanctioned by the White House and will take place during this decade and the next.

To explain these impressive figures, foreign observers note that whereas the creation of one type of nuclear munition in the first two generations--atomic and hydrogen--took an average of around 6 experimental nuclear explosions, in order to perfect just one type of the far more complex "third-generation" weapons 100-200 nuclear tests are needed.

That is the real reason for the reluctance to join the moratorium. And the assertions by certain White House representatives that the creation of the new "superweapon" will increase the guarantee of "universal peace" look utterly absurd. But this is, so to speak, an old song to a new tune. You only have to turn the wheel of history back 30 years--the same thing was said in the United States when the Pentagon was energetically building up the arsenal of the "superweapon" of that period--hydrogen bombs.

The time has come for resolute, responsible actions and the utmost mobilization of reason and common sense. In this connection exceptional significance is attached to the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Soviet television. This marks the start of a new stage in the struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons, curb the arms race, and improve the international situation. That is how it is regarded by all honest people on the planet.

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CSO: 1801/2

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

ITALIAN ACCORD SIGNED ON SDI PARTICIPATION

AU201350 Rome ANSA in English 0830 GMT 20 Sep 86

[Text] (ANSA) Washington, September 19 — Italy became the fourth American ally to sign a formal agreement covering contracts for the nation's industries taking part in the research phase of the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative. The understanding was signed Friday for the U.S. by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and for Italy by Renato Ruggiero, the Foreign Ministry secretary general, and the chairman of the Defense Industry Committee, Admiral Mario Forte. Also on hand for the ceremony was the Italian ambassador to Washington, Rinaldo Petrignani, who later conferred with Weinberger.

Similar accords have been signed by Great Britain, West Germany and Israel and negotiations for an agreement with Japan are reportedly near completion.

At the end of closed-door talks held by the U.S. and Italy over the past months, the Rome parliament took up Wednesday the participation of Italian defense industries in the ambitious research phase of the "star wars" missile defense system.

The agreement establishes security procedures for the transfer of technology and handling of sensitive areas and will lead to the creation of special relations between the Pentagon and the Italian firms working on the program.

The accord is also designed to facilitate the participation of Italian industries in the "star wars" research projects through the creation of appropriate channels for the exchange of information and assuring updated information from the American side. The understanding, according to reliable U.S. sources, also assigns "special credibility" to Italian industries in relation to their American counterparts with whom joint venture operation may be formed.

These sources noted that though Italian firms would have been able to bid on research contracts without a covering agreement,

they would not have been accorded preference.

Thus far, Italy has produced some seventy unsolicited proposals. The accord signed Friday will pave the way for forwarding requests for proposals to Italian industries for awarding Pentagon contracts to the bidder with the best technological and financial offer.

"The objective of the memorandum signed by Italy and the United States is to facilitate the participation of Italian companies and research centers in the research phase of the SDI program, guaranteeing them parity with American enterprise and that of other countries which have signed similar agreements, especially as concerns their capabilities of competing for SDI research contracts", a communique released by the Italian delegation said.

The communique also noted that the accord will provide guidelines for important contractual relations directly involving possible participation in research, such as patents and the utilization of research findings, the utilization of basic technology and control over the transfer of sensitive technology.

According to the note, the "memorandum sufficiently safeguards industrial and scientific cooperation between Italy and the U.S. in the development of sectors which represent the most advanced point of technological progress". The spinoff from this cooperation for the Italian industrial system "must be assessed initially on the qualitative level and then on the quantitative level.

"Italian participation in SDI does not change the position of the government according to which the strategic implications of any future decision to deploy defenses against ballistic missiles must be carefully weighed and discussed in appropriate quarters, when and if the defenses appear achievable", the communique concluded.

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CSO: 5200/2403

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES SDI PARTICIPATION

Prepares Document

AU180845 Rome ANSA in English 0842 GMT 18 Sep 86

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, September 17 — Italian participation in the research phase of the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative does not imply acceptance of "the political and strategic implications of the initiative in question," Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti affirmed in a document on the issue made public Wednesday.

In his paper prepared for a question and answer session in parliament on negotiations with the United States for an agreement covering work by Italian companies on the "star wars" research project, Andreotti noted that an assessment of these political and strategic implications of the space-based missile defense system cannot be conducted bilaterally.

After recalling that the SDI is under study in NATO and Western European Union quarters, the minister pointed out that "the declared purpose of the research is to verify whether such a missile defense system is sufficiently effective and effectively possible".

"If the government were to be absent and learned that companies in other European countries or outside Europe were benefiting from contracts by taking part in the SDI, we would certainly face strong criticism, and not only from parts of the Italian economic circles", he said in his paper.

He went on to say that the government intends to keep Parliament fully informed on negotiations with the U.S. and noted that talks with the U.S. Administration at the technical level have led to the draft of a memorandum of understanding which provides a framework for the participation of Italian firms in the SDI research phase.

He compared this understanding to those reached by Washington with Great Britain, West Germany and Israel and the one under negotiation with Japan.

Andreotti described the purpose of the understanding as "more equitable and ample participation of our industries in research, timely information on the American programs to guarantee equal conditions with American enterprises and those of other countries as well as the transfer of technology and the circulation of knowledge and technology between the two countries.

He said that "our industries can be expected to receive assistance

from the defense-industry committee which will not only handle the individual contracts for participation but safeguard the general and specific interests of the firms themselves".

The understanding also provides for the unrestricted utilization of the results of research conducted by Italian industries on contract.

Moving on to the industrial spinoff to be expected as a result of Italian participation in "star wars" research in the framework of the understanding to be signed Friday in Washington, Andreotti said that "the problem is complex" and affirmed that there is no way to assess these benefits by referring to figures concerning initial contracts to be signed in the near future.

Italy and its allies, he said, intend to work together to assure a direction for SDI research leading to "dealings of cooperation and not antagonism in relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union".

He concluded his paper with the statement that no one can cast doubt on Italy's firm policy aimed at "contributing in every possible way and with every possible measure to safeguard and strengthening peace. No objective or economic or financial gain will ever be taken into consideration by us and elevated if it compromises the strategy and the tactics at the service of maintaining peace".

First Contract Signed

AUI80852 Rome ANSA in English 0846 GMT 18 Sep 86

[Text](ANSA) Washington, September 17 — The first contract awarded to an Italian company for work on the research phase of the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative was signed here last Tuesday by Ansaldo of Genoa, a nuclear and engineering company in the IRI [Institute for Industrial Reconstruction] state-controlled holding [company], a Defense Department source told the Italian news agency ANSA Wednesday.

The value of the contract was put at half-a-million dollars and, though the contract is small, it may be the "first of many" following the framework agreement reached by Italy and the U.S. prepared for signing here Friday, the source said.

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CSO: 5200/2403

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

JAPAN: USSR'S MARCHUK VISITS TO DISCUSS SDI, GORBACHEV VISIT

Calls on Nakasone

OW120559 Tokyo KYODO in English 0520 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sept. 12 KYODO -- Visiting Soviet Vice Premier Guriy Marchuk hinted to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone Friday that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev may visit Japan next January, a government official said. Marchuk, here since Sunday as a Foreign Ministry guest, paid a courtesy call on Nakasone at his official residence. In delivering Gorbachev's message Marchuk quoted the Soviet party general secretary as saying he cannot visit Japan by the year-end due to his tight schedule but he expects to visit next year.

On August 5, Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari told Soviet Ambassador to Tokyo Nikolay Solovyev that he expects Gorbachev to visit Japan this year or by the end of next January. Nakasone repeated Kuranari's request to Marchuk, who said he will convey Nakasone's wish to Gorbachev that the Soviet general secretary visit Tokyo in January. Marchuk said the Soviet leader expects constructive results in the expected Soviet-Japan summit meeting.

Marchuk, who is in charge of science and technology, warned Nakasone that Japan's decision to start talks with the U.S. on its participating in the research phase of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) will have a negative effect on Japan-Soviet relations. The Soviets have proposed the abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and this is the best policy, Marchuk was quoted as telling Nakasone.

Nakasone said Japan's participation in the SDI, the so-called "star-wars" antimissile space-based defense system, is consistent with its policy of seeking peace, as the system is defensive in nature and will lead to the abolition of nuclear weapons. He told Marchuk it is unnecessary for the Soviet Union to worry about Japanese participation in SDI, the official said. Nakasone also told Marchuk he had already confirmed with U.S. President Ronald Reagan five basic points regarding SDI, including the point that the SDI plan seeks no U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union.

Marchuk said although Japan's SDI participation will hamper bilateral cooperation in scientific technology, the Soviets still believe there will be many possibilities for Japan-Soviet cooperation in such a field.

Marchuk said he welcomed the resumption of bilateral science and technology cooperation talks which will be held between September 16 and 19 in Tokyo. The talks have been suspended since 1982 in connection with Japan's sanctions against Moscow taken in relation to the situation in Poland.

Nakasone expressed the hope of the second Soviet-U.S. summit between Gorbachev and Reagan will be held as soon as possible, which he said would have a positive influence on his own expected meeting with Gorbachev. But Nakasone underscored the need to resolve an "important pending problem" with the Soviets -- alluding to Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido which Japan wants returned, the so-called "northern territories" -- before concluding a peace treaty to stabilize bilateral relations, the official said.

Wants Hi-Tech Exchanges

OW121301 Tokyo KYODO in English 1254 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sept. 12 KYODO -- Soviet Vice Premier Guriy Marchuk said Friday the Soviet Union would like to expand exchange of high technology with Japan. Marchuk, in a wide-ranging interview with KYODO news service, also said Moscow is prepared to expand trade with Japan through joint venture business. Marchuk, who is concurrently chairman of the State Science and Technology Commission, is now on a visit to Japan at the invitation of the Foreign Ministry.

Marchuk said the Soviet Union is interested in cooperating with Japan to promote nuclear fusion research and develop a new type of nuclear power generation technology. The Soviet Union would like to exchange data with Japan on the long-term aftereffects of exposure to radiation, Marchuk said.

He said his country is also ready to consider allowing Japanese astronauts to fly in Soviet spacecraft. Marchuk said the Soviet Union does not want a one-sided flow of high-technology from Japan. What is important is a two-way flow, especially in basic research, he said.

He said the new thrust of economic development in the Soviet Union lies in such high-tech fields as electronics, computers, new materials, biotechnology. Economic ties with Japan should not be limited to trade; the two countries should step up exchange in high-tech fields too, he said.

In describing the kind of joint ventures the Soviet Union has in mind, Marchuk said the Soviets want those which can export their output to Japan. The Soviet Union will buy what it needs from Japan, instead of having them produced by Soviet-based joint ventures, he said.

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CSO: 5260/028

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

JAPAN: DEFENSE EXPERTS COMMENT ON SDI PARTICIPATION

OW090359 Tokyo KYODO in English 0346 GMT 9 Sep 86

[Text] Kyoto, 9 Sep (KYODO)--Western defense experts attending the general meeting here of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) commented Tuesday on Japan's decision to participate in the research phase of the U.S. strategic defense initiative (SDI) program, officially announced Tuesday by the government.

A West German defense expert who asked not to be named pointed to Japan's position in the context of U.S.-Japan relations, and said, "It is inevitable for Japan to say 'yes' when urged by the United States to participate in the program."

A U.S. defense analyst said the decision by the government could be seen as a form of political support by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone for the global strategies of U.S. President Ronald Reagan. "Japan seems to put much more emphasis on its political effect than seeking economic and technological spinoffs resulting from the participation," he said.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Masaharu Gotoda officially announced Japan's participation earlier Tuesday.

Another American defense expert said that if Japan expects an economic spinoff from its decision, it will be disappointed, because the "project will move slowly and the amount of money that actually crosses the Pacific will be much smaller than the people in Japan may expect."

The United States is expected to ask Japan to participate in the research work on information processing and "target acquisition" technology involving electronics, analysts said. As to a guarantee that Japanese companies will be able to make commercial use of the SDI technology they work on, a European expert said, "That will become the main issue for the forthcoming negotiations between the United States and Japan."

Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, currently visiting Japan to attend the IISS meeting, expressed his full support for Japan's decision to take part in the SDI project.

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CSO: 5260/017

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

NAKASONE ADDRESSES DIET, ASSURES SDI DECISION NOT ILLEGAL

Says Participation To Be Beneficial

OW 120623 Tokyo KYODO in English 0605 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Excerpt] Turning to international politics, Nakasone said he will continue working "strenuously" to ensure a "fruitful dialogue and negotiations" between the United States and Soviet Union. And he said it is "truly meaningful" for Japan and the Soviet Union to have agreed to promote political dialogue between Tokyo and Moscow, including exchanges of visits by Nakasone and party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev is expected to come to Japan in January, becoming the first Kremlin leader to visit Japan. But Nakasone angered the Soviets by announcing Tuesday that Japan will take part in the research phase of U.S. President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the so-called "star wars" project.

The Soviet Union regards the space-based antimissile plan as an attempt to expand the arms race into space. "Japan's participation in the SDI research project will be beneficial to effective implementation of the Japan-U.S. security treaty arrangements," Nakasone told the Diet session. He expressed the hope that it will also raise Japan's technological standards.

Responds to Accusations

OW 161203 Tokyo KYODO in English 1155 GMT 16 Sep 86

[Excerpt] Tokyo, Sept 16 KYODO--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone told the Diet Tuesday that Japan's participation in the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) does not violate a Diet decision banning space development for military purposes. Nakasone said the space-based antimissile program does not constitute a violation of the 1969 Diet resolution because "it is being carried out by the United States, and Japan is to participate only in a specific part of it." "The Diet resolution restricts only Japan's space development activity. Space development in foreign countries should not be discussed on the same basis," Nakasone said in response to accusations by Japan Socialist Party (JSP) Chairperson Takako Doi. The September 9 government decision has been criticized by major opposition parties, including the JSP which claims that it may expand the arms race into space.

Doi, elected JSP leader earlier this month, said that the government should reverse its decision to join the controversial antimissile defense system.

/9274

CSO: 5260/029

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT SAYS SDI PARTICIPATION NO VIOLATION

OW300739 Tokyo KYODO in English 0731 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sept. 30 KYODO -- Japan's decision to participate in the research phase of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) on September 9 will not violate the 1969 Diet resolution, the government said Tuesday in a statement.

It said the resolution is intended for research and development of Japan's use of space and that Japan's participation in other countries' projects for the development and use of space should not be put in the same category as Japan's own research efforts. It also said that Japan's participation in SDI will be limited to specific phases of projects, on a case-by-case basis, promoting the maintenance and strengthening of the Japan-U.S. relationship based on the bilateral security treaty.

Japan's participation in the SDI research program will not violate the Diet resolution since the goal of the SDI is consistent with Japan's stance as a peace-loving country, it says.

The government called SDI a research program aimed at providing technological information which will be needed when the U.S. decides whether or not it should develop or deploy a strategic defense system in the future. There has been no decision on Japan's policy for future stages of the program, the statement said, adding the government does not plan to extend research funds for the controversial antimissile system.

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CSO: 5260/035

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

BEIJING COMMENTARY ON U.S., USSR SPACE WEAPONS

OW191221 Beijing in English to North America 0000 GMT 19 Sep 86

[Qin Yan commentary]

[Text] It is natural in a duel between two men fighting with spears that both would want to be the first to get a shield. Whoever managed to do so would very likely be the winner. The United States and the Soviet Union now stand face to face with nuclear spears in hand. Both are trying to get ahead of the other in the race to seize the shield. Efforts to improve those nuclear spears are of course continuing. Both superpowers are working hard to develop the range, destructive power, accuracy, and other characteristics of their weapons. This is no easy job, since not much room for improvement is left after several generations of increasingly sophisticated nuclear weapons.

Both superpowers also possess enough nuclear warheads to destroy their rivals many times over. It would be virtually impossible for one side to break the current balance simply by increasing the size of its arsenal or its destructive power. That's why the two global rivals are turning to research on strategic defense systems.

The Soviet Union took an earlier lead in this effort. It long ago set up an antiballistic missile defense system around Moscow, and it was the only one in the world at that time. The Soviet Union has devoted large amounts of facilities, money, and labor to perfecting this system. The Soviet military recruited 10,000 scientists and engineers, organized half a dozen research institutes, and spent the equivalent of more than \$1 billion a year simply for experiments on directional energy beams. Some experts believe the Soviets will be able to set up antisatellite laser weapons by the 1990's.

The United States got off to a late start, but it's trying to catch up by taking longer strides with its Strategic Defense Initiative. This is aimed at establishing a complete defense system based on outer space by the end of this century and the beginning of the next. This system would use directional energy, microelectronics, and other sophisticated weapon technologies. The weapons competition between the United States and the Soviet Union is ascending from the earth's surface to outer space, from devastating nuclear bombs to precision energy beams.

It is not difficult to imagine what could happen if one of the superpowers appeared on the brink of acquiring a strategic defense system. It's doubtful the other would be content to accept such a distortion of the current balance. War could well be the bitter fruit harvested from attempts to build an impervious nuclear shield.

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CSO: 5200/4002

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

XINHUA NEWS ANALYSIS VIEWS USSR CONCERN ON SDI

OW241423 Beijing XINHUA in English 1335 GMT 24 Sep 86

["News Analysis: Moscow Worried About U.S. Allies' Participation in Star Wars Program (by Tang Xiushan)"] --XINHUA headline]

[Text] Moscow, September 24 (XINHUA) -- The Kremlin became more concerned that usual about the U.S. "star wars" program last Friday, when the U.S. Administration signed a memorandum of understanding with the Italian Government on its joining the program. Moscow criticized the Italian Government for not keeping its word that it will make efforts to contribute to averting the threat of nuclear war and strengthening international security.

The Soviet official news agency TASS said in a commentary Friday that the Italian participation in research into the "star wars" anti-missile defense shield signifies "a reinforcement of the course towards upsetting the strategic balance, the spread of the arms race to outer space, and puts new obstacles in the path of possible accords on limiting and reducing nuclear and space arms."

Italy is the fourth country to officially join the "star wars" program, following Britain, Federal Germany and Israel. Japan, Canada and Belgium have decided to allow their companies to cooperate with the U.S. in developing the program, formally known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), but have not yet signed formal agreements. France, which firmly refused to join the project, has also modified its attitude by declaring that it will not hamper its industrial enterprises from making private deals with the U.S. on the issue.

The U.S. allies have joined the "star wars" program because it has strong economic appeal.

Washington has planned to spend 2.6 billion dollars in developing the space-based shield against nuclear-armed missiles in the next five years. But scientists estimate the expenses will amount to at least six billion dollars.

The U.S. allies want to get orders from the United States to improve their economies and share in the program's new technological achievements. At the same time, by participating in SDI different ways, they voice political and military support for Washington's programs.

The Soviet Union has made great efforts to convince the U.S. allies not to join the "star wars" program. However, it has failed and is facing a serious situation now that the United States and its allies are pulling together for carrying out the program.

These developments will surely affect the ongoing Soviet-U.S. arms control talks. Drawing its allies into the "star wars" project, Washington will accelerate the development of space and third generation nuclear weapons. The development of space and third generation nuclear weapons. The development of these weapons will require an increase of nuclear test explosions.

The Soviet Union, worrying about the possible destruction of the current strategic balance between the two superpowers, has tried by hook and by crook to reach an agreement with the U.S. on a nuclear test ban. For more than a year, the Soviets have observed a self-imposed nuclear test moratorium and have called repeatedly on the Reagan administration to follow suit. The U.S.S.R. has also put forward a series of "peace" proposals to end, or at least delay the research and deployment of the U.S. space weapons.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union has been speeding up its own research in developing "an anti-antimissile defense system" to counter the "star wars" program. According to Vitaliy Goldanskiy, a member of the Soviet scientists' committee for peace, the system can "neutralize" an antimissile defense system by knocking out both stationary targets and flying warheads.

It is clear that the nuclear arms race, especially in the area of outer space, will escalate if the Soviet-U.S. arms control negotiations in Geneva fail to reach an agreement as soon as possible.

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CSO: 5200/4006

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

BRIEFS

JAPAN: SCIENTISTS 'WILL NOT COOPERATE' ON SDI--Tokyo, 11 Sep (KYODO)--The Japan Scientists Association [JSA] blasted the government decision to take part in SDI research, saying it will not cooperate with any research connected with the U.S. space-based anti-missile program. Protesting the government decision Tuesday to participate in the SDI project, the JSA said in a statement Wednesday that participation in research would lead to the militarization of Japan's science and technology. The association charged that research in SDI will impede the development of science and technology in Japan on grounds of "security protection." "The JSA plans to unfold a campaign against extending any cooperation to SDI," the statement said. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0248 GMT 11 Sep 86 OW] /9274

JAPAN: NO COMMENT ON SOVIET SDI WARNING--Tokyo, 12 Sep (KYODO)--A Senior Foreign Ministry official said Friday Japan has no intention of making any further comment on a Soviet warning about Japan's participation in the research phase of the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). The Soviet Union officially warned Japan Thursday that a Japanese decision to join the SDI project will have a negative effect on bilateral relations. The official, who declined to be named, said a Japanese statement that will begin talks with the U.S. on its participation in the SDI research has already been conveyed to Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa by Japanese Ambassador to Moscow Yasue Katori. Japan has no intention of making any further comment on the Soviet warning, the official added. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0341 GMT 12 Sep 86 OW] /9274

JAPAN PLANS TO USE SDI RESEARCH COMMERCIALY--Washington, 23 Sep (KYODO)--Japan reiterated to U.S. officials Wednesday its intention not to pass legislation to protect technological information developed in the SDI research and its desire to utilize the research for commercial purposes. Hiroaki Fujio, head of the Foreign Ministry's North American Affairs Bureau, made his remarks in a meeting here with U.S. Assistant Secretaries of Defense Richard Armitage and Richard Perle. Fujio told reporters after the meeting that a Japanese ministerial delegation will visit Washington to negotiate Japan's cooperation on the research phase of SDI. Japan formally announced its decision to participate in the SDI research program 9 September. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 1416 GMT 24 Sep 86 OW] /9274

CSO: 5260/032

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA DETAILS U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS STOCKPILES

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Col (Res) V. Chernyshev, Candidate of Technical Sciences: "Without Considering the Sovereignty of Others: Where and How Washington is Deploying Its Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] The world community has just been given further proof that the Pentagon has granted itself the "right" to be the boss over its nuclear weapons on the territory of other nations. It has already been reported that a list of 20 bases in Europe and the Far East where aircraft of the U.S. Air Force with nuclear bombs are on alert round-the-clock was included in published stenographic records of hearings in one of Congress' subcommittees. The list names five bases in the GDR, five in Turkey, three in England, three in Italy and one each in the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece and South Korea.

The secret list, included in the stenographic record either inadvertently or deliberately, was prepared by the Pentagon to inform the Congress where the Defense Department intends to build secret storage facilities for additional nuclear aerial bombs. According to the stenographic record the U.S. Air Force has presently built two such storage facilities at Ramstein [Air] Base in the FRG. The newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN states that the United States named for the first time a base at Kunsan in South Korea, where, among other things, it plans to build a storage facility for nuclear munitions.

According to Pentagon representatives the secret storage facilities will make it possible to deploy together the fighter-bombers and the nuclear weapons for them, which will "considerably enhance combat readiness." American experts in arms control have a different opinion. W. Arkin, one of the authors of the well-known book "Nuclear Battlefields: Global Ties in the Arms Race," for example, called the program another step in preparations for a nuclear war.

The objective of the "undertaking" by the Pentagon is to enhance the USA's capability for inflicting a first nuclear strike against the USSR and other socialist nations. One automatically recalls how, during the "cold war" years, the American strategists cynically "justified" encircling the Soviet Union with a ring of military bases. This is what General G. Kenney, commander of the U.S. Strategic Air Command, said in 1948, for example: "The American strategists are thinking about closing the ring of air bases around Russia, making it increasingly smaller and tighter until the Russians are strangled. This involves moving the bases closer

and closer to the heart of the Russian land and then using these bases... for continuous bombing and shelling with guided projectiles."

Here is a "revelation" of quite recent times. In the heat of debate P. Nitze, presently special adviser to the President and the U.S. Secretary of State, expressed the secret idea of the Washington strategists: "If you do not accept our proposals," he told a Soviet representative, "we shall encircle you with a first echelon of Pershing II missiles and a second echelon of cruise missiles so that you will be unable even to move."

And so, they began by creating a "solid ring of air bases," continued with an encirclement with Pershing II and cruise missiles and, according to retired Presidential Assistant for National Security R. McFarlane, are also developing a "space cover" over the Soviet Union. And it all goes counter to the interests of their own people, the interests of their own allies and the interests of all mankind.

It is noted with indignation in the world that Washington treats nuclear weapons as though they were harmless objects which can be deployed in any nation which suits the Pentagon, in anyone else's home, without the consent of or even the knowledge of the owners. U.S. representatives attempt "to prove" that "there is no danger in this." Participants in the antinuclear movement have responded sarcastically to such assertions: "If it is so safe, then deploy the nuclear weapons in Washington, test them in Paris and dump the radioactive waste in Tokyo."

The American strategists are not disturbed, however. They are deploying nuclear weapons both in the USA and in other nations. According to the American experts, nuclear munitions have now been stockpiled in 28 states in the USA. This includes 1,962 nuclear warheads in South Carolina, 1,900 in New York and 1,510 in North Dakota. With respect to tactical nuclear weapons, 70 percent of them are deployed outside the USA: in the FRG, England, Italy, Greece, Turkey, the Netherlands, Belgium and South Korea. Facilities of the so-called "nuclear infrastructure," designated for control and communication of the nuclear forces, guiding nuclear weapons and so forth, are located in 40 nations of the world. These facilities and nuclear weapons storage facilities make those nations not only "nuclear catapults" but also nuclear hostages of the Pentagon.

American assertions about strictly respecting the sovereignty of allies, "open consultations" with partners on security matters and so forth, continue to be a propaganda screen behind which the Pentagon monopolistically controls the fate of nations and peoples. The routes of "migration" of components of the USA's nuclear arsenal are sometimes unknown not only to the general public but even to the governments of those states in whose territories the oversea "guests" are secretly registered.

Let us recall just a few cases from recent times. In January 1985 reports were leaked to the Western press that portable nuclear munitions had been secretly stockpiled at American bases in the FRG, Italy and South Korea. Up to 300 units of these munitions, designated for use in the interior of enemy territory, according to West German experts, were deployed in the FRG. Up to 100 units, it turned out, were stored at U.S. military bases at Bad Telze and near Mainz (Finten). When Bundestag Deputy R. Schefferger asked the command element at the base at Bad

Telce to explain the munitions, U.S. military authorities absolutely refused to do so. The fact was thereby demonstrated once again that Washington does not care a bit about the FRG's sovereignty.

Secret plans by Washington to deploy American nuclear weapons in Canada, Spain, Puerto Rico, Iceland, on the Azores, in the Philippines and in Bermuda "in case a state of alert was announced" for the American armed forces became known soon after that. They involved nuclear depth bombs for the R-3 Orion or other aircraft of the naval aviation. They were to be used for destroying submarines or blockading underwater routes and passageways for submarines. According to the American plans, Spain's "share" was to be 32 bombs, Iceland's 46, and the Philippines' 227.

Washington attempted to suppress the scandal surrounding this. New details of the "emergency plans" which fell into the hands of the press, however, forced American officials to admit that such plans exist. Even such loyal Washington followers as NATO Secretary General Carrington was clearly "disturbed." The NEW YORK TIMES stated that Carrington announced that "it would not be a bad idea to consult with the nations involved when planning for emergency situations." In an interview with McCLEAN'S MAGAZINE, Admiral R. Fold, former head of Canada's defense staff, expressed himself in far more specific terms: "The United States has a moral duty to consult with us about the use of our territory for purposes involving nuclear weapons, which evoke such a violent reaction. It is simply immoral to prepare plans without consulting the parties involved."

The moral aspect does not concern official Washington, however. In typical fashion it reacted to the world community's indignation and the dissatisfaction of its allies with the following: the appearance of new reports on the "nuclear subject" could contribute to the intensification of the "nuclear allergy" in the world. This is how the "threat" was regarded in the American capital!

In the meantime more and more information has become known to the public. The London OBSERVER, for example, in response to a statement by U.S. Assistant Defense Secretary for Nuclear Energy R. Wagner, reported on the existence of a "secret plan for deploying in Western Europe new nuclear artillery munitions which have an effect like that of neutron bombs." "The neutron cores for them," American General B. Rogers, Supreme Commander of NATO Allied Forces in Europe, cynically announced, "can be kept in the USA until the colic caused in our allies by these weapons passes."

Finally, one other instance: In 1985 the FRG's Bundestag learned that the USA was probably intending to deploy in Western Europe far more of its Pershing II missiles than previously planned. The magazine STERN then reported that "additional missile parts" were stored at a depot at Weilerbach in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate. This "ominous" stockpile of Pershing missiles, the magazine stressed, explained why the Pentagon had ordered from Martin Marietta not 108 missiles (in accordance with the NATO decision) but 258--that is, 150 units more. There was no reply at that time to a question about these facts by Bundestag Deputy H. Scheer.

However, a statement by U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense R. Perle to the effect that Washington wants to deploy its "capability for conducting war as close to the

enemy as possible"--that is, to the USSR and the other socialist nations--can be considered to be a frank "answer" to this and other questions. With respect to the sovereignty of allies and respect for their opinion and security interests, this has never concerned and does not concern the U.S. administration. Washington's nuclear adventurism is universally accompanied by gross interference by the USA in the affairs of other nations and universally poses a threat to peace and international security.

11499

CSO: 1801/232

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

FRG'S BAHR SEES U.S. MISSILES PROPOSAL AS 'POSITIVE'

LD262206 Hamburg DPA in German 1240 GMT 26 Sep 86

[Text] Bonn, 26 Sep (DPA) — The SPD has given a basically positive assessment of the latest U.S. proposals for a reduction in medium-range missiles deployed in Europe. Egon Bahr, the party's disarmament expert, said in Bonn today that according to "reliable information" this proposal means that these missiles would be limited to 200 each in the East and West, including 100 warheads on each side in range of Europe.

This would be better than the present state of affairs without a treaty, Bahr said. He urged the Federal Government to clearly represent German interests with regard to such a settlement. It must work toward seeing that Pershing-2 missiles are not included in the future quota. The share of missiles for the Federal Republic must also not be different from that under the NATO two-track decision, namely 35 percent of all medium-range missiles deployed in Western Europe. "With a reduction to 100 warheads, no more than 35 must be allocated to the Federal Republic," Bahr said.

The minimum demand is reduction of the Pershing-2 missiles to a percentage corresponding to their ratio to the other medium-range weapon, the cruise missiles. Accordingly, with 100 warheads only, 18 Pershings could remain in the Federal Republic. This means that more than 90 would need to be withdrawn and only 16 cruise missiles deployed, Bahr continued. Such a development would be "quite something", but still less than what the SPD thinks is politically achievable, namely the complete withdrawal of all medium-range missiles aimed at Europe.

Bahr accused the Federal Government of so far having damaged German interests. Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, attributed to the government a "considerable share" in a possible drastic disarmament, however. He said that the SPD is now jumping on the bandwagon.

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CSO: 5200/2410

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

WEST GERMAN CDU OFFICIAL WANTS GENEVA TALKS TOPICS EXPANDED

LD281159 Hamburg DPA in German 1036 GMT 28 Sep 86

[Text] Hamburg, 28 Sep (DPA) — Juergen Todenhoefer, disarmament spokesman for the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, has called on the Soviet Union to pay more attention at the Geneva disarmament negotiations to the problem of medium-range missiles of shorter range. Beginning Monday, Todenhoefer will be holding talks in Geneva on arms control negotiations with U.S. delegation leader Max Kampelmann, and U.S. and Soviet negotiators.

Prior to his departure today, Todenhoefer, in an interview with DPA, said that public interest is directed mainly at medium-range weapons like the Soviet SS-20's and the U.S. Pershing-2's. "It is overlooked that the Soviet medium-range missiles of shorter range, SS-22, SS-23, and Scud, with their range of between 150 and 1,000 kilometers, and with a nine-to-one advantage for Eastern over Western Europe, represent an equal danger, particularly for the Federal Republic."

Todenhoefer called for the disarmament negotiations on medium-range missiles of shorter range — as demanded by the United States — to be conducted in parallel and at the same time as the negotiations on medium-range missiles of greater range. "The Soviet proposal only to start negotiations on medium-range missiles of shorter range following the conclusion of disarmament negotiations on medium-range missiles of longer range, opens the door for eastern efforts at circumvention and is not acceptable for western Europe," the CDU member said.

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CSO: 5200/2410

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

FRG GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT INTERIM MISSILE AGREEMENT

Spokesman Reports on Developments

LD301847 Hamburg DPA in German 1548 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Excerpts] Bonn, 30 Sep (DPA) — The Federal Government will accept an interim agreement between the two superpowers on a drastic reduction of medium-range missiles. As a result of a ministerial talk today with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, it was also decided that such an agreement must contain a "concrete commitment to" immediate negotiations on shorter-range missiles. This was reported by government spokesman Friedhelm Ost afterward.

The ministerial talk, at which contrary and more far-reaching demands by CDU experts were rejected by Federal Chancellor Kohl, was attended by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) and Defense Minister Manfred Woerner (CDU). Ost said those taking part believe it is a matter of course that short-range missiles with a range of 150-500 km must be brought to as low a level as possible. This disarmament line, described by Ost as an "agreed stance by the Federal Government" is to be brought up at the relevant alliance bodies. [passage omitted]

In the view of Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, an interim agreement on medium-range missiles would be "an important breakthrough". Genscher told the FDP Bundestag group today that there are "encouraging developments" in the talks between the two superpowers. The FDP is opposed to a policy of "all or nothing", Genscher said with reference to CDU/CSU demands that an interim agreement on medium-range missiles should not be concluded until all other European missiles are included.

CDU/CSU Expresses Reservations

LD301313 Hamburg DPA in German 1142 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Text] Bonn, 30 Sep (DPA) — The interim agreement for drastically reducing medium-range missiles aimed at by the superpowers is not acceptable to the CDU/CSU as long as there are no simultaneous negotiations on shorter-range Soviet missiles. Juergen Todenhoefer, disarmament spokesman for the CDU/CSU lower house group, said in Bonn on Tuesday that without such a parallel action a new gray area of insecurity would be created in Europe, for it made "no difference for the people in our country

whether they are threatened by an SS-20 or by the SS-22, SS-23 and Scud-8 (shorter-range missiles)." Toedenhoefer emphatically stressed that on this point he was in full agreement with the attitude of Alfred Dregger, chairman of the Union group.

He had discussed his group's demand with U.S. diplomats in Geneva and had only come across "a few problems." He returned with the optimistic assumption that there could be "a breakthrough within the next few months." Also new was the Soviet willingness to forgo not only taking into account the British and French nuclear weapons but to forgo also the demand to freeze this allied Western potential.

Toedenhoefer negatively assessed the Soviets' refusal to reduce their Asian SS-20's as drastically as the European ones and to discuss shorter-range missiles in parallel with the medium-range missile negotiations.

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CSO: 5200/2410

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

PRC PEOPLE'S DAILY VIEWS U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR DIFFERENCES

HK180907 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Sep 86 p 6

["Roundup" by Fang Min: "Problems Facing the Sixth Round of U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Talks"]

[Text] The sixth round of U.S.-Soviet talks on nuclear and space weapons is about to open in Geneva. This will be the third round to be held this year. Although the date for the talks was fixed some time ago, judging by the current state of U.S.-Soviet relations, this will be an important and also an extremely difficult round.

U.S.-Soviet relations are currently in a state of alternating relaxation and tension and dialogue and struggle. Officials of the two sides have held frequent meetings recently for the purpose of preparing for their forthcoming foreign ministerial meeting and also to pave the way for their second summit meeting. During these consultations, arms control has become an outstanding topic. It has been evident that the United States and the Soviet Union have changed their methods of handling the disarmament problem this year; the disarmament proposals put forward by the two sides show certain concessions in a bid to reach some kind of compromise. However, the two sides have not yet made much progress, and disputes continue on certain issues. Reviewing the several trials of strength staged by the United States and the Soviet Union over disarmament in the previous period, we find that these disputes are mainly manifest on the following issues: how to deal with strategic defense systems; whether or not to continue adhering to the SALT II treaty which both sides have signed but have not yet ratified; whether or not to jointly ban nuclear tests; and how to reduce the nuclear arsenals of the two sides, and so on.

Hence, despite the fact that prior to this round of talks experts from both countries (apparently all of these are participants in the Geneva talks) have held repeated consultations, they have not been able to narrow the differences, and the positions of the two sides remain far apart.

Judging by the contents of letters exchanged between the U.S. and Soviet leaders, the new Soviet disarmament proposal put forward in June, and the counterproposals being drafted by the United States, the atmosphere for the sixth round of nuclear disarmament talks is far from relaxed. First of all, space weapons remain the crux of the dispute between the two sides. Although the Soviet Union recently showed itself a bit more flexible regarding the U.S. strategic defense scheme (that is, the "star wars scheme"), by declaring that the United States can work in the "star wars" field at the level of laboratory research, and refrained from demanding again that the United States totally abandon research for this scheme, while the United States for its part said that deployment of the defense system could be postponed, the dispute between the two sides over this point has by no means died down. The Soviet Union continues to maintain that

the U.S. aim in pursuing the "star wars" scheme is to gain nuclear superiority, and hence it has demanded that the United States not withdraw from the "antimissile missile limitation treaty" for at least 15 years, in a bid to limit U.S. moves and make it impossible for the United States to develop space weapons during this period. However, the United States has emphasized that it hopes to build a still more secure foundation for deterrence by means of developing the defense system; it has decided to continue to carry out the scheme and is not willing to be bound by the Soviet demand. It is evident that this argument is in essence a struggle between limitation and opposition to limitation.

Second, there are still considerable differences between the disarmament plans of the two sides. The Soviet nuclear disarmament proposal put forward in June showed some changes compared with the one put forward in January. Regarding the scope of reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union is now only mentioning "three in one" strategic weapons (that is, intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine missiles, and long-range bombers), and does not count U.S. weapons deployed in Europe, which are capable of hitting the Soviet Union, as strategic weapons. This accords with U.S. thinking. Regarding the range of reduction, the Soviet Union's new plan has lowered the number of weapons to be reduced, that is, it limits the number of strategic weapons that the 2 sides can possess to 1,600 and warheads to 8,000. According to reports, the new plan now being drafted by the United States also proposed some relaxations regarding limits, to narrow the differences between this plan and the Soviet plan. This means that although there are differences in the reduction limits proposed by the two new plans, these differences could not be considered too great. However, the main difference is over how to implement this reduction limit. It is precisely on this point that the two sides have very different visions. The United States stresses that the great threat comes from ballistic missiles, especially land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, and so it wants to restrict as far as possible the number of such missiles and their warheads, in which the Soviet Union holds superiority. Contrary to the United States, the Soviet Union stresses putting into effect an "equal level" reduction of strategic weapons of all categories possessed by the two sides, so that it will be able to have as many land-based missiles and their warheads as possible while restricting submarine and cruise missiles, in which the United States enjoys superiority. As for medium-range ballistic missiles, the difference between the two sides is over Soviet missiles of this type deployed in Asia.

The Soviet Union has proposed freezing the number of medium-range ballistic missiles in Asia at the current level, neither increasing nor reducing it, whereas the United States proposes that the missiles in Asia should be included in the reduction, to facilitate the ultimate elimination of all medium-range ballistic missiles. In addition, the nuclear test issue remains an obstacle in the talks. Although this issue is not on the agenda for this round of talks, it has also been a point in dispute between the two sides and has affected U.S.-Soviet progress in arms control. Over the past year or more, the Soviet Union has repeatedly demanded that the two sides jointly ban nuclear testing, and the two sides recently held a meeting of experts on this topic. Each side had their say, and the meeting broke up in discord. The Soviet Union charged that the United States would not halt its nuclear tests because it wanted to continue improving its nuclear weapons and to test "star wars" laser weapons, in a bid to gain nuclear superiority; and the United States for its part said that the Soviet Union has carried out most of the nuclear tests it needs, and it was unacceptable to conversely bind the United States. It seems that disputes like this will be hard to avoid in the talks.

U.S.-Soviet differences over nuclear disarmament have existed for a long time, hence, no matter what the two sides may say, fierce bargaining will permeate this round of

talks. The Geneva talks represent a formal occasion in the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, and what happens there will not only have a direct impact on U.S.-Soviet relations and a second U.S.-Soviet summit, but will also become the focus of world attention, because of the global impact. The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that a summit meeting "should produce practical results," and it insists that "concrete progress" must be made in arms control talks before such a summit. Although the United States, for its part, has urged the Soviet Union to set a date for the second summit this year, and recently specifically proposed that the meeting would best be held between the mid-term U.S. elections on 4 November and Christmas, the Soviet Union has yet to make its attitude explicit. These conditions show that it remains hard to ascertain whether the two sides will be able to reach a compromise in the near future regarding the knotty problems facing this round of talks, so as to reach some kinds of limited agreement.

/9274

CSO; 5200/4001

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

XINHUA 'ROUND-UP' NOTES U.S., USSR ARMS CONTROL MOVES

OW241254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1234 GMT 24 Sep 86

["Round-Up: USA, USSR Inching Forward on Arms Control (by Shi Lukia)" -- XINHUA headline]

[Text] Washington, September 23 (XINHUA) -- Evidence is emerging that the United States and the Soviet Union are moving ahead, inch by inch, on arms control although it is too early to anticipate when they can reach a new agreement.

Addressing the U.N. General Assembly session today, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that "lately, encouraging outlines of meaningful agreements have been emerging" from arms control negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

"A summit meeting is also a realistic possibility. We could move forward rather smoothly if that is what the U.S. side wants," he added.

His remarks echoed a statement by U.S. President Ronald Reagan who told the General Assembly Monday that the exchange of views between Washington and Moscow concerning arms issues this summer "could well have marked the beginning of a serious, productive negotiation on arms reductions.

"The ice of the negotiating stalemate could break -- if both sides intensify their effort in the new round of Geneva talks," Reagan said.

One area on which both sides have moved closer is the issue of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe and Asia, according to both U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Shevardnadze.

After their meetings on Friday and Saturday, Shultz told reporters that the United States had seen "the potential for progress in reducing strategic, perhaps especially, intermediate nuclear forces (INF) and some other subjects.

"There was some progress made in INF, and that's perhaps one of the promising areas," he said.

Shevardnadze also said that INF "is a very promising area and there is a chance of narrowing the gap between the positions" of the two countries.

Another sign of movement toward arms control is that the 35-nation East-West security conference in Stockholm reached a final agreement on Sunday on the first accord governing the use of conventional military forces in Europe since the Second World War.

Although less significant, this is also the first military accord that has been concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Reagan administration.

However, observers here noted that it is far from certain that an agreement on INF could be reached in the near future as both sides remain far apart on the other two major areas -- strategic nuclear weapons and space-based defense systems -- at the Geneva arms control talks.

It is also not clear whether the recent progress would meet the criteria set by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev for a second summit meeting, which he said must be proceeded by "concrete results" on arms control.

In addition, the two superpowers are not bogged down in a new dispute over the issue of American reporter Nicholas Daniloff held in Moscow on charges of spying.

Shultz stated earlier that "It is difficult to think of a productive summit meeting" unless the Soviet Union let the reporter return home.

Shultz met with Shevardnadze again in New York today, trying to resolve the issue, but State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb later told reporter that "no resolution" has yet been found.

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CSO: 5200/4007

SALT/START ISSUES

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ON TEMPO OF U.S. STRATEGIC FORCES DEVELOPMENT

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by F. Andreyev under the rubric "Commentary Regarding": "They Are Accelerating Development"]

[Text] The purpose of Washington's decision to stop observing the Soviet-American strategic offensive arms limitation agreement was to give itself a free hand to fully implement the so-called "comprehensive strategic program for re-arming America," thereby destroying the strategic military parity between the USSR and the USA to its advantage.

Today, the USA is working rapidly to modernize and build up all components of the strategic Triad and to provide this weapon with the ability to deliver a nuclear, "disarming" first strike. Specifically, B-52 bombers continue to be rearmed with ALSM long-range cruise missiles. Series production of the new B-1B supersonic heavy bomber has been started. The "invisible" ATV bomber, using Stealth technology, is being developed at an accelerated pace. It is planned for the U.S. Strategic Air Command to have 130 of these bombers by the mid-'90s.

In its adventuristic plans for gaining military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, the Pentagon has assigned a prominent place to the development of a new air-based cruise missile designated the ASM. The American press reports that with respect to such combat qualities as range, survivability, reliability and simplicity of operation, it should considerably surpass the present ALSM cruise missile.

It is anticipated that series production of the ASM will start and strategic aircraft will begin to be armed with it in 1987-88. It is planned to produce 1,500 of the new missiles over a period of several years. Because of this the Pentagon has revised downward its program for producing the existing ALSM missile and plans to halt production of the missile by the end of this year, bringing the total number to 1,715. It is thus planned to have around 3,200 long-range nuclear cruise missiles in the arsenal at the beginning of the '90s. Each of them represents the equivalent of up to 200 kilotons of TNT. It is planned to arm around 200 strategic bombers with these missiles.

In addition, the public has learned of plans worked out by the Pentagon for creating and acquiring 1,900 SREM-2 air-to-surface nuclear missiles for strategic bombers. In the '90s they will replace the SREM missiles presently in the

arsenal. The new missile will have greater striking accuracy, greater reliability and improved operating features.

And so, even this far-from-complete information which has leaked to the press proves irrefutably that by halting further observance of the SALT II Treaty, the Reagan Administration plans to strive for military superiority over the USSR.

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CSO: 1801/232

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

USSR: UK POLITICAL PARTIES DEBATE NUCLEAR ARMS POLICIES

Social Democrats, Liberals

LD270354 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 26 Sep 86

[Text] The most dramatic issue of principle discussed at the conferences of the Social Democrats and Liberals was that of a nuclear or nuclear-free future for Britain. The climax of the debates was the vote at the Liberals' conference when even the views of the party leader David Steel about the need to modernize Britain's nuclear forces were rejected by a majority of the delegates. Nuclear-Free Britain was the slogan at the Liberal conference. It is notable that both the Social Democrats and the Liberals renounce in principle the Trident project for the British Isles. Many rank-and-file delegates also regarded with caution the proposal to develop some sort of European model of the Trident. Liberals addressing their conference said that fitting French missiles to British submarines was a prospect that could only be derided.

For their part the leaderships of both parties tried to warn the rank-and-file members that a nuclear-free status for Britain might not only lead to a split in NATO but also weaken the country's international standing. What can be said on this score? The talk of a split in NATO was obviously prompted by the official American propaganda machine. There are countries both in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization that do not have and do not deploy nuclear weapons on their territory. All the same, many of these countries play an important role in their alliances. Speaking of prestige, for example, it is only damaged when a nation possesses nuclear arms and rejects positive talks on a nuclear test ban.

But, despite the unprecedented interference that United States Defense Secretary Weinberger made when he threatened all opponents of nuclear arms in Britain through the Labor Party members, a growth in the number of such opponents in the country is an apparent fact. The growth is also due to the fact that Moscow has repeatedly confirmed its pledges towards the countries that have no nuclear arms of their own, or foreign ones on their territory. The nuclear-free status of such a country as Britain would change a great deal on Europe's nuclear map.

Moscow has declared that, in such a case, not a single nuclear missile will be targeted on Britain. But even if the British Government allowed only a partial reduction of its nuclear potential, the Soviet Union would reduce an equivalent number of its nuclear missiles in its European zone.

In this connection, I would like to agree with today's conclusion drawn by THE GUARDIAN that at a time when Soviet-American talks are in progress on medium-range weapons in

Europe, Britain and France would only complicate matters by revising their nuclear strength drastically upwards. On the other hand, I cannot agree with the view of the same London paper when it claims that the British nuclear forces were a small moment about which the Kremlin is not prepared to agitate itself. This is not true. The plans for building up the nuclear potentials of Britain and France would create such impressive forces that will block the entire process of easing tension in Europe, including in the nuclear arms area. Even now the British Polaris missiles can hit 400 targets on Soviet territory, in addition to the American Pershings and cruise missiles that are already targetted on it. These facts cannot be underestimated either in Moscow or elsewhere given common sense, and that is forcefully confirmed incidentally, among other things, by the results of the first annual conferences of the British opposition.

Labor Party Congress

OW010448 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0300 GMT 30 Sep 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast; commentary by Aleksandr Serikov]

[Text] The 85th Annual Labour Party Conference began its work in Blackpool. Our commentary:

[Serikov] Hello comrades. As you know, the Labor Party is the largest opposition party in the UK. Its criticism, directed at the ruling Conservatives, is, of course, largely subjective and biased, for the end-goal of this party, as its leader, Neil Kinnock stated recently, is to put an end to Conservative rule, which the whole country deprecates, at the next election. But, at the same time, the Labor program quite objectively and naturally reflects the mood of those Britons who, in the current difficult international situation, are trying to think in a new way.

Judged by its agenda, one of the central places in the work of the Labor conference will be taken by the question of UK military policies, particularly the attitude to the nuclear arms issue.

The Labor leaders have repeatedly stated that their party is firmly prepared to defend the principles of constructing the country's defense policies on a nonnuclear basis.

In this regard, it is appropriate to remember the recent statement by Neil Kinnock that, if the Labor Party had been in government, it would have accepted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's proposal to hold talks between the USSR and the UK on the question of bilateral reduction of nuclear arms.

The Laborites are also actively insisting on the withdrawal of American cruise missiles from the country and the abolition of nuclear bases. They are against the Conservatives' plans to purchase the new Trident nuclear missile system, and condemn the star wars program.

In other words, the Labor program reflects the concern of Britons with the continuation of the international arms race. As a result, the Labor Party conference which has begun in Blackpool could, as expected, make a noticeable contribution to the cause of normalizing the international situation and the strengthening collective security.

'Uproar' Over Price 'Attacks'

LD012312 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 1 Oct 86

[Text] London October 1 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Pakhomov reports.

The United States is stepping up intervention in the internal affairs of Britain in a bid to prevent Labour, whose anti-nuke policy is not to Washington's liking, from winning the forthcoming elections. The U.S. ambassador to London, Charles Price, echoed the Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger and his assistant Richard Perle in a vicious attack on the Labour Party. Giving an interview to BBC, the ambassador claimed that the fulfilment of Labour's plans to renounce nuclear weapons, close the U.S. nuclear bases in Britain and ban the entry of nuclear-armed American ships to British ports would cause dissent and instability in NATO.

American troops and nuclear weapons on the British Isles are a part of NATO, the ambassador stressed, thus hinting that London has no right to control them.

These attacks of the American official caused an uproar among the delegates to the annual conference of the Labour Party in Blackpool. The delegates criticised especially harshly his arrogant statement that Washington intended to publicize its point of view to the day of the British elections in order to influence their outcome. Labour leader Neil Kinnock reiterated the party's anti-nuclear stand and made it clear that it would not yield to blackmail from the other side of the ocean.

The newspaper DAILY MAIL notes today that the campaign of threats to labour is obviously orchestrated by the White House. The U.S. Administration is not happy with the results of public opinion polls in Britain, according to which Labour is ahead of the ruling Conservative Party.

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CSO: 5200/1004

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

KOREAN PAPER ACCUSES U.S. OF PLOTTING CHEMICAL WARFARE

Pyongyang MINJU CHOSON in Korean 3 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Pak Won-hae: "In Pursuit of a Chemical War"]

[Text] According to reports, a few days ago Reagan blabbed about investing a huge amount of money to hasten the development and production of binary weapons.

Coinciding with this, White House Spokesman Larry Speakes ranted that "the U.S. policy concerning chemical warfare remains unchanged" and that it is "necessary" to "stockpile" a large number of chemical weapons to cope with a new war.

At a time when the whole world is opposing and condemning the U.S. imperialists' adventurous machinations for chemical warfare, the U.S. war maniacs intend to keep on increasing the production of chemical weapons. This shows that they are hell-bent on starting a new war even by using chemical weapons.

While stepping up the production of nuclear weapons as part of their preparations for a new war, the U.S. imperialists, in pursuit of their permanent goal of world conquest, are making frantic preparations for chemical warfare by increasing the production of chemical weapons.

A chemical weapon is a weapon of mass-destruction which kills or maims people by its toxic chemical substances.

The world's people have been unanimously demanding a halt to the production of chemical and biological weapons because of their heinous character. The development and use of chemical weapons have long been prohibited under an international covenant. But the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, secretly hastened research on toxic agents and their production and used them in battlegrounds. It is no secret that the U.S. imperialists committed the heinous bestiality of massacring our people with biological and chemical weapons during the Korean War. Even now the U.S. imperialists are introducing numerous chemical weapons into South Korea and conducting military exercises in preparations for chemical warfare in this area.

The U.S. imperialists, jointly with their South Korean puppets, have even erected more than 10 gas factories in South Korea.

They are frantically deploying chemical weapons to various places in Europe. The U.S. Department of Defense has even drawn up a plan to produce new types of chemical weapons for deployment to U.S. allies. In step with this, NATO military organizations, a high-level military planning committee among them, have adopted a decision endorsing the U.S. plan to begin the production of binary chemical weapons, a new generation of chemical weapons.

According to an estimate by experts, a huge amount of chemical weapons, including more than 100,000 tons of toxic substance, 150,000 tons of chemical shells, and more than 3 million chemical bombs, are currently stored in the secret U.S. ammunition depots.

The U.S. imperialists' intention to hasten the production of binary weapons on top of this huge stockpile of chemical weapons proves that they are becoming all the more feverish with their machinations to launch a chemical war.

The U.S. imperialists are bent upon producing more chemical weapons, which are mass-destruction weapons, in an attempt to fling mankind into the scourges of a chemical war, but their calculation is wrong.

If the U.S. imperialists should keep on dashing headlong on the road of a new war wielding their chemical weapons, they will end up perishing in the fire they themselves started.

13311/12859

CSO: 4110/106

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

BRIEFS

DUTCH CHEMICALS TO IRAQ--Arnhem, 16 Sep--A court here imposed a fine of 100,000 guilders on a Dutch chemical company yesterday after ruling that it violated export regulations by supplying chemicals to Iraq which could be used to produce nerve gases. The court found that the company, Melchemie Holland BV, supplied the chemicals to Iraq between November 1984 and January 1985 without obtaining the required government permit. The chemical in question, phosphor-oxychloride, is subject to export restrictions because it can be used to manufacture both pesticides and chemical weapons. Judge H. Collewyn said the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) alerted the Dutch authorities in 1984 that Melchemie was about to ship the chemicals to Iraq. A United Nations report published earlier this year concluded that Iraq had used chemical weapons against Iranian forces in the Gulf War. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 16 Sep 86 p 16] /9274

CSO: 5200/2408

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

USSR PRESS COVERAGE, COMMENTARY ON CDE RESULTS

Grinevskiy-Pyadyshev News Conference

LD252320 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1835 GMT 25 Sep 86

[Report on press conference at USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow on 25 September on results of Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security, and Disarmament in Europe, conducted by Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry; with special ambassador Oleg Grinevskiy, head of USSR delegation to Stockholm]

[Text] [Announcer] At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow, a press conference was held for Soviet and foreign journalists. It was devoted to the statement by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in connection with the conclusion of the conference in Stockholm. [video shows press conference room and Grinevskiy addressing journalists] The press conference was conducted by Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Grinevskiy, head of the USSR delegation to the Stockholm conference and special envoy, addressed the journalists. He said:

[Text] [Begin recording] [Grinevskiy] An appraisal of the agreements reached at the Stockholm conference which ended a few days ago was given in the statement made yesterday by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It stressed that a big step was taken in Stockholm in the matter of easing tension and improving the political climate, which is so essential for a solution of the vital problems of our nuclear age.

The Stockholm document, which was adopted by 33 European states as well as the United States and Canada, displays new thinking and a fresh approach in international affairs, which in the final analysis should lead to an elimination of the military threat menacing mankind.

What is the Stockholm document? [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 26 September, Morning Edition, page 5 carries a report on the press conference and Grinevskiy's address which eliminates the preceding question and adds the following: Essentially this is the first accord within the framework of the large-scale program for peace, disarmament, and security which was proposed by the Soviet Union in the 15 January statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.] In a practical context, it is a complex of political and military measures, drafted in some detail, leading to a

reduction in the threat of military confrontation in Europe, the continent most packed with weaponry on our planet.

First, in accordance with this document, the states have taken upon themselves the obligation to give 42 days' notice of all exercises by land troops and by contingents of air and naval forces connected with them, when more than 13,000 men and 300 tanks are participating. A special sub level is established for Air Force Exercise: 200 aircraft flights during the period of the exercise, after which the necessary information about them will be provided. [The IZVESTIYA version renders the preceding sentence: A special sub-level of 200 aircraft takeoffs for the duration of exercises has been established as regards air force exercises, and any necessary information will be made available when this level is exceeded.]

According to calculations by specialists, this covers practically 90 percent of all the air force activity being conducted in Europe. States will provide prior notification not only of exercises, but also transfers and concentrations of troops. This means that henceforth, the United States will give notification of all transfers of its troops to Europe above the stated notification parameter. Such accords will lead to a reduction of the risk of a military conflict, and therefore to a more calm and stable climate in Europe.

Second, the states will also exchange annually plans for military activity which is subject to notification. This is one of the most important sections of the agreement, showing how far states are going toward each other in order to remove suspicion and to turn the train of thought back from a military to a peaceful tone.

Third, observers will be invited to all military activity -- exercises, movements, or transfers of troops -- above the level of 17,000 men. Such invitations will be compulsory so that all states can be convinced that the military activity being conducted complies with the accord on notification and does not threaten anyone.

Fourth, it has also proven possible to reach agreement on certain elements of the limitation of military exercises. But this is only the beginning, and this topic must subsequently be developed further.

Fifth, one of the most significant sections of the Stockholm accord are the provisions concerning inspection. At many disarmament talks this question has been -- and continues to be -- the stumbling block. And this is not without ill intent. On the contrary, the myth was circulated that allegedly the USSR is opposed to monitoring [kontrol], that it will never permit inspectors onto its territory.

The Stockholm conference dispelled this myth. Where there is a subject for a serious accord -- whether disarmament or confidence-building measures -- the USSR is no less interest than other states and perhaps even more in the strict observations by all the states of the obligations they have undertaken. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1440 GMT on 25 September also carries a report on the news conference with a recording of Grinevskiy's address. The Domestic Service and IZVESTIYA versions add: Therefore, our country readily went for the accord by which every state in the zone embraced by the confidence-building measures allows its territory not more than three inspections per year. Here, of course, the legitimate interests of states' security have been taken into account. Inspection will not be carried out in closed regions, at military and defense sites. This is the first agreement in history concerning armaments which envisages on-site inspections.]

Finally, the crowning aspect of the whole agreement is the understanding on the non-use of force in all of its forms, including in its most dangerous manifestation, the use of armed force. Thus, a considerable step has been made toward making this obligation an effective law of international life which no one is permitted to break. Of course, in Stockholm success was not achieved on all questions, whose solution would have fully guaranteed the creation of firm foundations for trust and security in Europe. At the same time, the results of the Stockholm forum are the maximum possible at the present time and they can become the starting point for the adoption of new and effective decisions for achieving disarmament in Europe. Now a few words about the way the agreement was reached in Stockholm. Let me say outright that the way to the agreement was not an easy one. The Stockholm conference had not only its ardent adherents, but also its firm opponents. That is why each step in the agreement, each clause in this document was achieved literally after a struggle. Right up to the last minute the fate of the accord hung on a hair-thread, as they say. It was September arrived and there was still no agreement.

There were delays in agreeing to the text with regard to inspection. There were also still serious differences over the parameters regarding notification. Then one had to have recourse to the following method: Late in the evening of 19 September, the clock was stopped at the conference, so as to provide an additional 3 days for final agreement of the unresolved issues. Indeed, it was only on 22 September that the conference was able to adopt the final document.

[Moscow Domestic Service and IZVESTIYA add: However, it must be acknowledged that right up to the start of this year, the conference was more like a discussion club, than a forum where serious talks take place. The sides exchanged prepared speeches; verbal skirmishes broke out occasionally. But it went no further. No talks, as such, took place, and no understandings were elaborated.] What was the turning point in altering the state of affairs in Stockholm? Thinking back, one can now say with confidence that it was the solution proposed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his celebrated statement of 15 January, this year.

[The IZVESTIYA version adds: It was noted that up to that point all movement at the conference had hinged heavily on the question of what kind of military activity in Europe should be subject to notification -- land forces, navy, and air force. The statement proposed a bold and, at the same time, simple solution. If it is not possible to solve the question of notification as a whole, then why not try to tackle it in parts. For example, agree now, at this stage of the conference, on notification of large ground and air force exercises, and carry the question of naval activity over to the next stage of the conference.]

Gradually and step by step, this sensible proposal made headway, and it was the basis of the compromise that was achieved in Stockholm. This, however, required a great deal of effort by all the participants of the conference.

[Moscow Domestic Service and IZVESTIYA add: The state of affairs in Stockholm was constantly kept in view by the Soviet leadership. Over the last year there has not been a single session where the USSR and other socialist countries have not put forward serious proposals aimed at resolving unresolved problems. These initiatives were in essence the conference's motive force.]

[The IZVESTIYA version adds: At the end of June the CPSU Central Committee Politburo held a special meeting to hear a report by the Soviet delegation on the state of affairs at the conference. The delegation was instructed to actively seek on the basis

of reciprocity a fruitful conclusion to this important international forum. Now we can report that the delegation has carried out these instructions.

[But it would be unfair to speak only about the contribution of the socialist countries. The Stockholm document is an amalgam of the collective efforts of all the countries without exception. The neutral and nonaligned states, which did a great deal to bring positions closer together, especially at difficult and crucial stages of the talks, played a big part in the successful conclusion of the Stockholm conference.]

Naturally, there would have been no agreement without reciprocal steps by the members of NATO, including the United States. [IZVESTIYA adds: At the last stage of the conference they displayed goodwill and a desire for compromise. This was shown in the achievement of an accord on the transfer of forces to Europe from other continents, on notification parameters, inspections, and a number of other issues. They withdrew their proposals on information concerning the structure and deployment of armed forces and notification of troops' extra-garrison activities, which had long been an obstacle to successful completion of the conference.]

All this shows that between East and West in general and between the USSR and the United States in particular a dialogue can exist leading to mutual understanding and accords.

[The IZVESTIYA version concludes: It was noted at the press conference that summit meetings and talks, in particular the exchange of views that took place between the Soviet and French leaders at the beginning of July, played an important part in arranging collaboration between the socialist and Western countries. Talks among the foreign ministers of the USSR, Britain, Italy, the FRG, and other European countries also played a big part. Questions pertaining to the reaching of an agreement in Stockholm were discussed at the recent meeting between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. The result of all these efforts was the Stockholm document on confidence-building and security measures.

[Journalists' questions were answered.]

[Pyadyshev] Thank you Oleg Alekseyevich. We will move on to questions.

[Pavlov] Pavlov of APN. Immediately after the signing of the documents in Stockholm there were many commentaries and in particular there were statements that the understanding in Stockholm is mainly an understanding between blocs and that the interests of other countries have thus not been taken fully into account.

[Grinevskiy] In this document all states are in an equal position. One must say that in the European process in general and at the Stockholm conference in particular, states are participating on a bloc basis but represent themselves. Therefore, all states -- the United States, Britain, Malta, Cyprus, Sweden -- all speak as equals and enjoy equal rights.

[Unidentified questioner] (?Do you think that) the Stockholm conference has provided a positive impulse for other talks, for example the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe?

[Grinevskiy] Of course, there is no direct link between the talks in Stockholm and the other talks being held on disarmament. But, in itself, the success achieved in Stockholm must unquestionably give psychological and political impetus for progress at

other talks, too. The events in Stockholm show that even in the present, serious situation it is possible to achieve accords if there is persistence and good will to this end. That is what Stockholm tells us. And this does, indeed, apply to Vienna and the other talks on disarmament as well.

[Pyadyshev] Okay. Are there any more questions? Yes, please go ahead.

[Interpreter] A question from THE WASHINGTON POST: You mentioned that a Politburo session took place at which the Soviet delegation in Stockholm was given instructions. Could you tell us whether this was the first Politburo session in the past 2 years in which the Soviet delegation to Stockholm was invited to participate, or was it the last session, in which they received some details, or more general instructions on the question in hand?

[Grinevskiy] I have already said that the situation at the Stockholm conference was constantly at the focus of attention of the Soviet leadership and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

I will particularly emphasize the fact that a report from the Soviet delegation was heard specially at the Politburo session on 26 June, at which the state of affairs in Stockholm was considered in detail. The Soviet delegation was given extremely detailed and serious instructions to work toward the attainment, on a reciprocal basis, of a successful conclusion to the Stockholm conference. [end recording]

[Announcer] A correspondent from the British GUARDIAN then attempted to draw the attention of the participants in the press conference to the so-called "Daniloff affairs." Here is the reply given him by Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the information directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, who presided over the press conference:

[Begin recording] [Pyadyshev] Well, esteemed colleagues, we did agree that this press conference should deal with an entirely specific question, that of the results of the Stockholm conference. But since this question has been raised, I would like to say briefly that we in the Soviet Union do not believe that it is impossible to arrive at some sort of compromise in the case cited by our colleague from THE GUARDIAN. For a positive settlement of this issue, we believe that a calm atmosphere is necessary. At present, appropriate contacts on this question are in progress in New York, and we believe that a mutually acceptable settlement can be found. To this I would like to add that we in the Soviet Union are indignant at the way the Soviet citizen Zakharov has been treated in New York. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Stepanowicz, a correspondent of Polish radio and television, has broached important themes in his question: How do things stand with the transfer of discussion of the question of independent naval and air force exercises to the second stage of the conference?

[Begin recording] [Grinevskiy] Mutual understanding on this was reached at the conference. The chairman of the conference made a statement that was entered in the record or protocol of the meeting, which said that in the future, every delegation will have the right to raise at the conference any question that accords with the mandate of the conference. We made a statement to the effect that at the next stage of the conference, the Soviet Union intends to raise the question of independent naval and air exercises. The Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and, I would say, virtually all the neutral countries regard the question of independent naval and air exercises as very important and serious. Without a solution of these questions, there cannot be a strong and stable system of confidence and security in Europe. Judge for yourselves:

How can you exclude the question of air and naval forces from the equation on which the problem of security is based? After all, these are among the most aggressive components of contemporary armed forces. If we look at past history, we see that for the United States the war began with a Japanese air and naval strike against the U.S. base at Pearl Harbor. In Europe the war began for many countries with an air strike. So it would certainly be detrimental to the interests of European states to explode aviation and independent activities of naval forces. We will raise these questions seriously and resolutely at the next stage.

[Pyadyshev] I think that we have reason to congratulate Ambassador Grievskiy and the leaders of the delegation from the other 34 states -- who have worked hard for about 3 years -- to congratulate them on the great success achieved at the Stockholm conference. Thank you for your attention. All the best. Goodbye. [applause] [end recording]

Reply to Polish Correspondent

LD260029 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2110 GMT 25 Sep 86

[Interview with USSR special ambassador Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet CDE delegation in Stockholm, by Moscow correspondent Witold Stefanowicz on "World Panorama" program, in Moscow on 25 September -- live]

[Text] [Stefanowicz] I have been lucky enough to secure an interview with Ambassador ad Personam Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation to the Stockholm conference, for our meeting tonight. Could you tell Warsaw Radio listeners what, in your opinion, are the essence and fundamental principles of the new style of international political thinking, mentioned in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on the subject of the Stockholm conference?

[Grinevskiy in Russian fading into Polish translation] I think that the very agreement in Stockholm, the manner in which it was achieved, and what has been achieved comprise a starting point for a new way of thinking to take root on European soil, particularly in Stockholm. Of course, in order to reach agreement, many states had to overcome old convictions, ideas, conventions and conditions in order to take a broader view of the situation. To the extent that it was possible to place at the center of attention not narrowly understood national interests or narrowly understood interests of security but the widely understood prospect of consolidating peace in Europe -- to this extent, symptoms of the new thinking and new approach to international politics have been revealed and have been demonstrated in Stockholm, because we live in a nuclear and space era. You are right, the value of this agreement is the fact that it has been proved that the new thinking is making its way in this dangerous nuclear century. Let a different approach also prevail during other talks; let the talking parties find the strength and conviction to be guided by this new manner of thinking. We will then learn that wisdom and common sense shall prevail.

[Stefanowicz] What can you say about the second stage of the Stockholm conference?

[Grinevskiy] Let us hope that the example of the first stage will be decisive for the second one.

[Stefanowicz] I would like to congratulate you on behalf of Polish radio listeners, on the success which you have also contributed to with your personal effort and work.

[Grinevskiy] Thank you very much. I have always felt the attention and support for my work from the Polish delegation and Polish society, and I thank you very much for that.

Grinevskiy Reply to GDR Correspondent

LD251817 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1505 GMT 25 Sep 86

[Excerpts] Ambassador Extraordinary Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation at the Stockholm Conference on Security and Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, today provided explanations at an international press conference in Moscow on the joint final document of the 35-state forum. Here is a report from our correspondent Klaus-Juergen Fischer:

[Fishcher] [Passage omitted summarizing Grinevskiy remarks at press conference] At the press conference, I asked the Soviet politician if he expected positive stimuli from the Stockholm results for the current negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament. Here is what he said:

[Begin Grinevskiy recording in Russian fading into German translation] You see, there is of course no direct relation between the Stockholm conference and the other negotiations on disarmament issues. Yet, seen from a psychological and political point of view, the advances achieved in the Swedish capital themselves are of course capable of providing a stimulus for the advancement of other rounds of talks. The Stockholm document proves after all, that even in today's complicated and serious situation, there are opportunities for reaching agreement when persistence and good will are present. This can also be transmitted to other disarmament negotiations.

I can also express this in a different way: The advances in Stockholm are capable of bringing in their wake a whole chain of similar agreements. For example, Stockholm can become a prologue for the successful conclusion of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna. For example, one could create a situation such that at the Vienna meeting the decision is made on continuing to the second stage of the Stockholm conference, which should deal directly with disarmament issues.

The Stockholm results can be fertile ground for the Vienna meeting, and a program for this is already at hand; that is, the Budapest proposals of the socialist countries on a radical reduction of armed forces and weapons in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. [End recording]

Weinberger Reaction

LD251939 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 25 Sep 86

[From "the World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Excerpts] Reports are continuing to come in from New York on positive evaluations of the new large-scale peace initiatives of the USSR which were set forth in the speech by Comrade Shevardnadze at the session of the UN General Assembly. [passage omitted]

However, far from everyone is speaking so constructively. For example, the Pentagon chief, Weinberger, hastened to announce that he does not consider the Stockholm accord to be a useful agreement. Well, the displeasure of the chief of the U.S. defense department is quite understandable. For the decisions which were adopted in Stockholm restrict the scale of military activity in Europe. And the Pentagon, on the contrary, is doing everything possible to step up this activity -- from holding interminable military maneuvers to deploying in Western Europe ever new American nuclear missiles and other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons. [passage omitted] [video shows Weinberger speaking]

Comparison of Report on Agreement

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 23 September, First Edition, carries on page 5 a TASS report under the headline "Confidence and Security for Europe" on the agreement at the Stockholm conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

Comparison with the Moscow TASS in English version published in the 23 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page AA 1, under the headline "Details of Stockholm Conference Agreement Given," reveals following variations:

Paragraph three, line three reads in PRAVDA: ...and strengthening security in accordance with the interests of all the European states and peoples. This is convincingly attested by the accords contained in the document. The accord on.... (adding passage)

Paragraph five, line five reads in PRAVDA: ...movement of troops, exchange of annual plans of notifiable military activity, invitation... (adding "notifiable")

Same paragraph, line seven reads in PRAVDA: They are of substantial significance for overcoming ingrained suspicion, lessening the risk of an armed conflict and use of force, and reducing the concern and alarm linked with the buildup of armed forces on the continent.

These measures lay... (rewording, reparagraphing, adding passage)

Paragraph six, line one reads in PRAVDA: ...now to accords to ensure that the observance on confidence-building measures is backed up by effective and identical forms of verification.... (rewording)

Page AA 2, paragraph two, line three reads in PRAVDA: ...whole all-European process, which was started more than 10 years ago in the Finnish capital. They are also.... (adding phrase)

Same paragraph, last line reads in PRAVDA: ...security and cooperation, and are the guarantee of a successful start to the second stage of the conference, which will DISCUSS QUESTIONS OF DISARMAMENT ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT....

Grinevskiy Interview

LD292211 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Sep 86

[From "International Panorama" program presented by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov]

[Text] The second leading theme of the commentaries this week was the successful conclusion of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. Stockholm proved that even in a complex atmosphere it is possible to negotiate on questions of security, if there is the political will and desire for it.

The Soviet leadership, notes the statement by Comrade Gorbachev, sees the results of the conference as a major step toward slackening tension and improving the

international political climate, as a victory by common sense, and as a gain for all 35 participating countries. The success of the conference at Stockholm demonstrated the viability of the all-European process. A complex of political and military-technical measures has been approved which lessen the risk of war in Europe. They comprise such key questions as notification of military maneuvers, the movements and transfers of troops, the invitation of observers, and an exchange of annual plans of military activity. Essentially, we are talking about the first major agreement in the military-political sphere between East and West since the time the Soviet-American SALT II treaty was signed in 1979.

[Gubernatorov] The delegates are saying goodbye to Stockholm these days, the city where they lived and worked for almost 3 years -- with some small breaks. I think many of those who settled in the Swedish capital are sad to take their leave of its welcoming and hospitable citizens, who have tried to do everything they could so that the conference participants should suffer no discomforts in their work.

There is probably no need to speak today of the difficulties the delegates had to overcome over the time allocated to the conference. The main thing is that they managed all the same to overcome their differences and achieve weighty accords on questions of trust and security in Europe.

What does the Stockholm experience teach us? It has once again confirmed not only the possibility but also the necessity of cooperation between states with different social systems for the sake of people and all people being able to live under a peaceful sky, look to the future with confidence with no fear for their lives, nor for the lives of their children and grandchildren. [passage omitted]

The leader of the Soviet delegation and ambassador at large, Comrade Grinevskiy, kindly agreed to answer our questions:

[Begin recording] [Gubernatorov] Oleg Alekseyevich, what, in your opinion, are the basic results of the Stockholm forum?

[Grinevskiy] A conclusive document was adopted at the Stockholm conference. It sets forth the foundations, I would even call them, new foundations for European security.

This is not a declamatory announcement nor is it a general discourse, but these are rather concrete measures which touch on important aspects of military activity on the continent of Europe. For example, a decision has been taken on notification not only of major troop exercises but also of their movements and transfers and concentrations above a level of 13,000 troops and 300 tanks, of all transfers of American troops from the continent of America to Europe. This is an unprecedented decision. Apart from this, all these measures will be subject to inspection. Moreover, for the first time in history, inspection will become an instrument for verification of the agreements adopted.

I think in general that it can be said that these agreements are a concrete example of a new approach to international affairs and to the improvement of East-West relations -- they are a new way of thought in conformity with international talks. And, I must say bluntly that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries stand behind all these agreements. Our proposals were the basic motivating forces which led to the success of the conference. [end recording]

Military Paper Commentary

PM011535 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Second Edition) in Russian 30 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Reserve Colonel V. Chernyshev: "A Victory for Reason and Good Will. The Results and Lessons of the Stockholm Conference"]

[Text] The first stage of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe has ended. The long, nearly 3-year marathon has come to an end: The representatives of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada have adopted a final document and agreed on a package of political and military technical measures to reduce the danger of military confrontation in Europe.

The accords in the final document are convincing evidence of the attainment of a qualitatively new stage on the path to the creation of an atmosphere of great confidence and strengthening of security. First, there is the accord on nonuse of force international relations. A package of complementary measures was agreed to and adopted on strengthening confidence and security on the military sphere. Thus a strong foundation of military aspects of security has been created for the political aspects of European security.

These measures, which are politically binding, cover such key matters as notification of military exercises, transfer and movement of troops, exchange of annual plans for notifiable military activity, invitation of observers to it, and limitation of military activity on the European Continent. Military activity will be subject to notification (42 days or more) in cases involving at least 13,000 people (for ground forces) or 300 tanks, if they are organized in a divisional structure or at least in 2 brigades (regiments); at least 3,000 people (for amphibious forces or airborne troops). The participating states' air force exercises will be liable to notification if 200 or more aircraft sorties are planned.

Participating states will invite observers from all other participating states to attend such types of military activity as ground forces' exercises carried out under a single operational command independently or in conjunction with air force or naval components, amphibious and parachute assault landings by airborne forces in the European zone, and the transfer of ground forces from outside the zone or inside the zone. All aforementioned military activity will be liable to observation in cases where 17,000 and more troops are involved. For amphibious and parachute assault landings the threshold will be 5,000 men.

As for monitoring the fulfillment of pledges, each participating state will have the right to carry out inspections on the territory of any other participating state in the zone where the confidence-building and security measures apply. No state will be obliged to accept more than three inspections on its territory in one calendar year (and more than one inspection by the same state). Inspection will be permitted on the ground, from the air, or by both methods.

In looking back over the ground covered by the conference, it is necessary to point out that from the very start there was a constant struggle between different trends. The position of some leading NATO countries, headed by the United States, was in fact a constant brake on the Stockholm forum's work. They tried to play down the significance of the conference, narrow the range of questions discussed at it, make it purely technical, and debase the political aspects of confidence and security building. The obvious aim was to prevent the achievement of significant results at the forum and

deprive it of a future. At the same time, these participants were expecting to secure some one-sided advantages for themselves, establish rigorous monitoring [kontrol] of the conduct in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of normal activities involved in instructing and training troops, and implement their own concept of effective transparency of the entire structure and deployment of Warsaw Pact Armed Forces. This was evidenced in particular by the proposals on placing at NATO's disposal information of an intelligence nature, arranging observation of extra-garrison activity, including all movement by troops outside their permanent deployment areas, and unrestricted on-site inspections [inspektsii na mestakh].

But despite this unconstructive platform, the conference was vigorous enough to surmount the artificial obstacles in its path. What is the secret of this vigor?

The completion of the conference with substantial results was due to three factors. First of all the enterprising and flexible line of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which did a great deal to find solutions to the key issues, made bold compromises, and took vigorous steps to achieve mutually acceptable accords. There was hardly a session at which they did not put forward enterprising proposals promoting the conference's work.

A vital role was performed by the neutral and nonaligned states, which, for their part, also put forward constructive, businesslike proposals. And, finally, a number of the European partners of the United States from time to time put pressure on Washington and its main "assistants," making the shift from unrealistic, hidebound positions. But in overall terms, success in Stockholm would have been inconceivable without reciprocal efforts by all the participants.

What is the significance and what are the lessons of the Stockholm conference? First, the achievement of substantial accords taking account of the interests of all sides is of fundamental significance for the development and deepening of the all-European process started in Helsinki. It was confirmed that the Helsinki process has taken root in European soil. Second, it is the first major agreement in the military-political sphere since the signing of the Soviet-American SALT II treaty in 1979. Third, the fruitful completion of the conference should contribute in the future to the reduction of military confrontation in Europe: The confidence - and security-building measures elaborated in Stockholm should serve as a step leading to the direct consideration of questions pertaining to disarmament on the continent. The foundation for new agreements, including one on substantially reducing forces and armaments in Europe, as proposed by the Warsaw Pact countries, has been laid. Fourth, the improvement of the situation on the European Continent and peace and tranquillity in the European home should be an example to other parts of the world, an example of constructive coexistence among different states which are aware of their interdependence and build their relations on trust.

The success of Stockholm graphically demonstrates that in the present situation it is possible to find mutually acceptable solutions to complex questions on the basis of goodwill and willingness to cooperate and compromise. It also clearly shows that the path to security by no means lies through the rejection of agreement, but, on the contrary, through the strengthening of existing accords and achievement of new ones. Without agreements there can be no strong and stable structure for international relations -- either on a regional or on a global scale.

The Stockholm success was not to the liking of certain people in Washington. According to the U.S. television company CBS, certain U.S. Administration spokesmen immediately after the signing of the final document called it "worthless."

but the prevailing view of the forum's results in the world, and above all in Western Europe, is somewhat different. Britain's THE TIMES called the accord a historic agreement between East and West, the start of a new era in the "bridgebuilding" process. Satisfaction with the results achieved at the first stage was expressed by French President F. Mitterrand, FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, and the leaders of other West European countries.

The Soviet Union sees the success of the first stage of the conference as the materialization of the new political thinking in tune with the realities of the nuclear-space era in which we live. "Stockholm demonstrated," M.S. Gorbachev said, "that even in a complex situation it is possible to reach understandings on security issues if the political will and desire are there."

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CSO: 5200/1010

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

PAPER SEES RISKS FOR SWEDEN IN ACCEPTING AIR INSPECTION ROLE

PM111752 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Sep 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Not in Sweden's Interests"]

[Text] Small states have every reason to act carefully in large international contexts. As was made clear in an article in yesterday's SVENSKA DAGBLADET, the Stockholm conference on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe could produce a less than pleasant surprise for Sweden. Now that a result from the conference finally seems to be close, it is highly debatable from the Swedish viewpoint.

It is seldom that the interests of small states come to the fore when great powers and superpowers are involved. There is a significant risk that the smaller nations may become pawns in the game when the world's powerful cut up the cake.

A small state generally has strong interests in a very limited part of the world. They are seldom able to trade off disadvantages in their own immediate area against advantages somewhere else. There is therefore little room for compromise.

Things are different for the really powerful nations. Of course, they too have some interests which weigh more heavily than others. But often they can balance a retreat in one area with a gain elsewhere. Global aspirations give great powers and superpowers a flexibility which the smaller nations do not have.

On the occasions when international conferences have determined the fates of smaller nations, it has rarely been the good of the latter which has been to the fore. The Geneva conference on Vietnam in 1954 did not, for example, favor the victors on the battlefield--the Viet Minh movement.

The Soviet Union and China had interests to take into account other than where the border should be drawn in a country in Southeast Asia. For the Soviet Union it was, for example, perhaps more important to exert an influence on the question--current at that time--of German rearmament and a European army.

Nevertheless, in recent times Swedish foreign policy has come to be directed above all toward major international agreements and attempts to play a role in world politics. It can of course be asserted that a little country like Sweden is acting wisely in making propaganda for international law and other things which might limit the dominance of the more powerful in contacts between states.

But the talk of "joint security" should never overshadow the realities of world politics. We cannot act on the basis of the notion that some new world order is at hand when in reality power politics are still the deciding factor.

The results of international conferences--no matter how noble their aims may be on paper--may harm fundamental Swedish interests. Our own policy must be shaped with this in mind and not on the basis of excessive idealism. If Sweden does not defend its interests, no one else will.

As outlined in the SVENSKA DAGBLADET article, what is at issue this time is the right to military inspections of other countries' territory. In themselves such opportunities are to be welcomed. Inspections could reduce the uncertainty about what the other side is up to and also force restraint on both sides.

But the specific arrangements which are now being discussed are hardly acceptable from a Swedish viewpoint. It is reasonable that under such an inspection system all states should be treated equally regardless of what military resources they have and of what military alliance they form part of.

But such equal treatment will clearly not be the effect of the agreement which is now well on its way to being dictated by the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union--directly or via other states in the Warsaw Pact--will be able to inspect Sweden. But we will never be able in practice to inspect the Soviet Union.

The intended rules would work in such a way that each nation would only need to tolerate a certain limited number of inspections every year. The limited number of inspections in the Soviet Union would probably already be used up at an early stage by other nations that are members of NATO. If nonaligned Sweden were to feel the need for an inspection of its eastern neighbor, there would be no possibility of this in such a situation.

At the same time our own territory could be the object of several inspections by the East. For the Western powers, however, Sweden is hardly a high-priority inspection object.

The problems are less for the countries that are alliance members than for those which are nonaligned. The former will probably receive information from allies which have carried out inspections. They also have access to the material the superpowers' satellite surveillance produces.

Sweden has little to hide that a foreign superpower does not already know about. We have, on the other hand, an extraordinarily great interest in being able in a worrying situation to undertake an inspection not least on Soviet territory. That Sweden should be guaranteed such opportunities for inspection should be a minimum demand in return for our support for an agreement.

We must also be fully aware of the element of political pressure which will be present if, in the middle of a foreign affairs crisis, a Soviet aircraft with a military delegation on board lands at Arlanda. Just imagine if something like that had happened during the sensitive days when submarine 137 lay aground in the Karlskrona Archipelago.

Our respect for the notion of international agreements in themselves, or the fact that the security conference is taking place in Stockholm, should not prevent us from following forcefully and resolutely a line that is important for Swedish security policy. Only he who has something to hide can feel any fear of an inspection by a small nonaligned nation.

We should not be so proper that we refrain from defending Sweden's legitimate security interests.

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CSO: 5200/2412

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

FRG REACTION TO SIGNING OF STOCKHOLM FINAL DOCUMENT

Kohl Comments

LD221355 Hamburg DPA in German 1318 GMT 22 Sep 86

[Text] Bonn, 22 Sep (DPA) — In the opinion of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the successful conclusion to the Conference on Disarmament in Europe [CDE] in Stockholm has brought a large measure of progress in the efforts to strengthen peace and security in Europe and the world. The political and practical preconditions for the staging of a second summit meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev have improved, the chancellor said on Monday in a statement made public by government spokesman Friedhelm Ost. Stockholm could bring further impetus to the arms control negotiations and the expansion of East-West relations.

Kohl assessed the agreement in the Stockholm final document as proof of the fact that despite all the existing difficulties, results acceptable to all parties can be achieved in East-West relations and in the arms control negotiations with patient and persistent work. The Federal Government right from the start has worked purposefully and with all its strength for a result and has made numerous important contributions to the negotiations. Success has been possible because the alliance had been unified and the trusting consultations with the United States had paid off. Cooperation between Bonn and France had been particularly close.

SPD, FDP Spokesmen Comment

LD221223 Hamburg DPA in German 1029 GMT 22 Sep 86

[Text] Bonn, 22 Sep (DPA) — The successful conclusion to the CDE in Stockholm was also welcomed by the SPD opposition and the Free Democrats in Bonn on Monday. The deputy chairman of the SPD group, Horst Ehmke, said that the agreement that has now been achieved was a small, but nevertheless an important step toward greater military transparency [as received] and thus toward stability in Europe. The confidence-building process process, which had been resisted so strongly by the CDU/CSU to start with, had proved itself to be a path to European peace.

The FDP executive described the CDE agreement as an important step on the path to greater stability and security in Europe. At the same time the FDP hoped that the results of Stockholm would be continued with positive results in other arms control spheres and also have a favorable influence on the staging of a second summit meeting between President Reagan and the Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Diplomatic circles in Bonn have underlined that the successful conclusion to the conference was in itself of great political importance in the present international situation. The fact that the Soviet Union had for the first time agreed to aerial inspections was also an extremely important development in the light of other planned arms control agreements.

Press Review

DW221340 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0505 GMT 22 Sep 86

[From the Press Review]

[Text] *NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG* Writes: Finally there is a sense of achievement in East-West relations. The agreement at the Stockholm CDE obtained after 32 months of negotiating and after a very complicated final phase, shows progress in reducing the danger of an accidental war in Europe. In particular, the psychological atmosphere during a critical phase of relations between Washington and Moscow must be admired. The participating states have proven their ability to compromise. They have demonstrated that they do not have to persist in sterile confrontation. If common interests had not been sufficient for confidence-building measures, then the actual disarmament negotiations would have been heavily burdened. That compromise, to which the Soviets contributed by allowing inspections on their territory for the first time, can now be assessed as a signal for the two superpowers to intensify their efforts toward real progress in disarmament in the spirit of Stockholm, writes *NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG*.

The Koelner *STADT-ANZEIGER* states: It is the first time since the 1975 Helsinki Final Act that the European conference on security has shown real results. The CDE has thus proven its viability. True, it depends on the general political climate and on the good will of the superpowers. But as soon as Washington and Moscow give positive signals, the CDE proves its worth as a forum of cooperation, making remarkable progress. The most decisive progress is that for the first time the USSR has declared

its preparedness to allow agreements to be verified on their own territory. When the CDE began 2 and ½ years ago, Foreign Minister Gromyko dismissed on-site inspection as a considerable attempt at spying and termed it completely inconceivable, stresses the Koelner *STADT-ANZEIGER*.

FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU says: On the negative side of the conference there is the predominance of the military blocs, which is inconsistent with CDE principles. It should not merely be alliances, but 35 countries with equal rights which should speak with one another at that conference. In Stockholm that was not the case. NATO and the Warsaw Pact grappled with each other, and if when felt like it, the Soviets and the Americans detached themselves for bilateral talks, acting on their own discretion. The alliance partners, at least the important ones, were allowed to put in a word sometimes and to ensure at critical stages that the flow of the talks did not completely dry up. For the neutral states there was just the exhausting coordination activities left for them to pursue. They were not sought after as bridge builders. The conclusion of the Stockholm conference guarantees a good beginning for the Vienna CSCE meeting, the preparation for which will begin on Tuesday. That good beginning should be made use of in order to tackle, as soon as possible, the second phase of the CDE without losing sight of the other Helsinki "baskets". After building confidence, disarmament is now the topic to be dealt with said the *FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU*.

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CSO: 5200/2410

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

USSR: REPORT, COMMENT ON UPCOMING VIENNA CSCE FOLLOW-up

Preparatory Talks Continue

LD261230 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 26 Sep 86

[Text] Vienna September 26 TASS -- A preparatory meeting of representatives of the states -- participants in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation is continuing here. Discussions are centering on questions in connection with the agenda, organization and holding of the third meeting of representatives of the states -- participants in the meeting on European security and cooperation scheduled to open in Vienna on November 4.

The meeting was addressed today by Igor Andropov, the head of the Soviet delegation. Touching upon the procedure of holding the preparatory meeting, in particular, the question of openness, i.e. the holding of a number of plenary meetings in presence of representatives of the press and public, which is being discussed now, the Soviet representative stressed that openness occupies now a central place in the Soviet Union's life. That question, he said, should be resolved in such a way as to contribute to the creation of a most businesslike and constructive atmosphere at the Vienna meeting.

IZVESTIYA Commentary

PM291609 Moscow IZVESTIYA (Morning Edition) in Russian 30 Sep 86 p 5

[Vikentiy Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "From Stockholm to Vienna"]

[Text] The Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe [CDE] had been at work for 2 and 1/2 years, but it was necessary to symbolically stop the clock in the conference session hall in order to observe the agreed deadline for its completion at midnight on 19 September. Having thereby bought some time, agreement was reached after several hours on the points still unsettled.

And now the final document of the Stockholm Conference has been prepared and approved by its participants down to the last letter. It contains 104 paragraphs and 4 appendices. What in the Final Act of the all-European conference took up comparatively little room has now, as a result of the great and at times difficult work done in Stockholm, grown into an impressive and detailed code of regulations and provisions which should promote confidence- and security-building and, ultimately, the achievement of disarmament on the European continent.

The document contains important provisions relating to the nonuse or threat of force. This is an important, key section. Certain Western conference participants had put forward various artificial objections to even discussing this question. It was claimed, for instance, that it could only be a question of repeating the commitments and principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

One need not study these 19 paragraphs for long to see that what they contain is the fruit of a creative approach to the question, enriches the treasure house of international law with provisions stemming from the demands of our time, and provides a sound political foundation for the subsequent section of the Stockholm document. Take, for instance, the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes as an essential supplement to the obligation of states to refrain from the use or threat of force. The document states the need to strengthen and improve the means at the disposal of the conference participants for settling disputes peacefully. There is still clearly considerable scope here for constructive activity and new accords.

There is another aspect of the same question. The document rightly points out that security in Europe is closely bound up with security in the Mediterranean region as a whole. The topicality of this formula needs no explanation in view of the events of recent times.

A paragraph in the same section says that the conference participants stress the need to take resolute measures to prevent and combat terrorism, including terrorism in international relations.

There is no need to set out the contents of the entire document. IZVESTIYA, like other organs of our press, will devote proper attention to it in the future.

In short, the necessary prerequisites have been created for switching to a discussion of the most important thing -- measures in the disarmament sphere on our continent. This is also mentioned in the Stockholm document. This will be dealt with by the upcoming Vienna meeting of representatives of the states participating in the all-European conference. The Stockholm conference has largely paved the way for the Vienna forum and for its fruitful work. However, statements are already being made from official rostrums in the United States which cannot fail to put us on our guard.

"I do not think that this is a useful accord" was how pentagon chief C. Weinberger reacted to the final document of the Stockholm conference. I think that notice will be taken of these words not only by broad strata of the world public but also by all governments. They indicate how furiously certain U.S. circles oppose everything that may improve the international situation or help progress in the cause of disarmament.

One cannot help feeling perplexed by the rejoinder made on 25 September by D. Howard, deputy White House press secretary for foreign affairs, to the effect that the achievement in Stockholm is, apparently, "an agreement on paper."

How is one to understand this statement? A major step was taken in Stockholm toward the easing of tension and the improvement of the international political climate, and yet people behind official rostrums in Washington behave as if nothing had happened. Such a stance places official Washington in opposition even to the governments of West European countries which are closest to the United States, let alone broad world public opinion.

The explanation is quite simple, bearing in mind that the forthcoming Vienna meeting will have to really get down to the problems of disarmament on the continent. Confidence-building measures in the military spheres are not goals in themselves, but a

prerequisite for attaining specific and realistic measures in the sphere of disarmament on the continent on their basis. Practical deliberations in this respect have already been placed on the table by the Warsaw Pact socialist states. So far there has been no response to them from the Western governments.

But even now some people in Washington would like to thicken the clouds around the Vienna meeting to complicate its atmosphere. Speaking in Washington a few days ago, Warren Zimmerman, head of the U.S. delegation at the forthcoming meeting in Vienna, declared that there can be no progress in East-West relations without tangible progress in the human rights sphere.

Mr Zimmerman ought to be aware of the importance socialist countries attach to the ensuring of human rights. The foundations of an all-embracing system of international security which were proclaimed from the 27th CPSU Congress rostrum include a section of measures referring to the humanitarian sphere. They include the expansion of international cooperation in the implementation of political, social, and individual human rights with respect for each country's laws. Mr Zimmerman ought also to be aware that this question was raised at the Belgrade meeting and other international forums by official U.S. representatives for purposes which had nothing in common with the development of normal international cooperation but were used to complicate the situation and whip up a "cold war" atmosphere.

It is extremely important to prevent the forthcoming meeting in Vienna from being turned into an arena of confrontation by the adversaries of detente. The Vienna forum must become yet another landmark in Europe's advance toward reliable security. Vienna will take up the baton from Stockholm. And that which was achieved in the Swedish capital must be preserved and developed so as to move on to the main and basic point -- realistic measures for disarmament on European soil. The socialist countries are completely ready for this.

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CSO: 5200/1010

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

GORBACHEV QUESTIONED ON MORATORIUM, BEING 'TOO SOFT'

PM231230 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA (Second Edition) in Russian 19 Sep 86 pp 1, 3

[Report by TASS special correspondents A. Belikov, V. Zhilyakov, and N. Styazhkin: "The Party Consults the People: M. S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Working People in Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays"]

[Excerpts]

Every meeting that M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has with the working people is occasioned by the need to discuss how best to resolve the urgent problems and what must be done in order to remove the obstacles which hamper our progress.

Quite recently, just over a month ago, M.S. Gorbachev studied the development of the Far East. Now he is on a new business trip, to the Kuban and Stavropol Kray.

In the morning of 18 September M.S. Gorbachev laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin monument in Krasnodar.

He then went on a tour of the city. Conversations were struck up with working people. M.S. Gorbachev inquired about the city's social development and the working and living conditions of people in Krasnodar. In order to resolve these questions successfully, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed, it is necessary to make fuller use of local resources and increase the capacities of the construction base. M.S. Gorbachev supported the proposal to build young people's residential complexes in Krasnodar.

In order to convey the character of M.S. Gorbachev's conversations with the working people, we will cite the shorthand transcript of one such conversation which took place on Krasnodar's central street.

Voice: Why is the United States continuing its nuclear tests at the Nevada firing range in spite of the Soviet moratorium?

M.S. Gorbachev: We are waging a difficult struggle for peace. Formerly the United States used to explain all its militarist plans by means of all kinds of conjectures and distortions of the nature of the Soviet Union and its foreign policy.

First, they claim that the Soviet Union threatens to conquer the whole world, seeks military superiority, intends to occupy the whole of Western Europe. The Soviet Union,

they say, wants to get its hands on Africa and Asia. They painted a picture of the Soviet Union which they call the "Russian bear," the "Russian aggressor." When I look at you, I wonder: Do we really all give that impression, I myself, you, and all our generations who created everything that exists in our country? We are proud of our country. We have invested so much effort and given our lives! Do we really entertain such perfidious plans with regard to other peoples? Raisa Maksimovna and I were reading Dostoyevskiy once. He wrote that the Russian heart -- but today I would say the Soviet people's heart -- is perhaps more open than any other to fraternity and unification.

Our peaceful foreign policy invites people to unite in order to save life on earth, not only to prevent nuclear war, but to preserve the environment.

The world has the resources to solve its problems. They say that every year 400 billion or perhaps even 500-600 billion dollars is spent on the arms race. To satisfy people's most urgent needs would require 100 or 200 billion. That is in just 1 year, if we use the available resources!

Or else they would say: The Soviet Union is against any kind of verification [kontrol], you cannot negotiate with it, it does not observe agreements. You see, we have exposed all these fabrications. We have proposed a policy -- in all spheres, at that -- which it is hard to argue with, because it is a peaceful policy. People are no longer willing to believe that the Soviet Union is engaging in propaganda, that it seeks war. The more foreigners visit our country and have contact with our Soviet people, the more they find them kind, peace-loving, hospitable, ordinary, open. Recently a professor of ours, a doctor of philological sciences, came back from the United States after lecturing at 22 universities. American scientists and representatives of the American intelligentsia had told him that Russia is today the last refuge, the last reservoir of spritual life. People are beginning to comprehend what kind of country we are, what kind of people we are, what we think and dream about, what we strive for. This is what we put into practice in our foreign policy. That is a very powerful thing.

But the most progressive foreign policy must be built on firm foundations. This means realities which cannot be ignored. It means a mighty economy, a united people, strong defense. We hold all this in our hands.

It is hard to negotiate with representatives of militarist circles. But the American people and all other peoples also have an interest in peace. We proceed on that basis and we expect people to understand that peace must be preserved.

Voice: Are we not too soft in our dealings with people abroad?

M.S. Gorbachev: Our principle is this: Pursue a firm policy, defend the principles I have spoken of, but do it constructively. You have to show restraint. And restraint is not softness. Let them get agitated. They think up ideas, like the time they sent Powers in, to wreck the thaw which had begun in Soviet-American relations. Then there was the Korean plane, when the world was beginning to think that we must return to detente. Now they have stirred up the "Daniloff affair," the affair of a spy who was caught. He engaged in these activities in many places, including places not far from here. They want to exploit this espionage affair in order once again to spoil Soviet-American relations, sow doubt about the Soviet Union's policy, and distort the impression of our people which is beginning to form among the American people.

So are we going to get nervous? No, we are not. We cannot be provoked. I understand that you want the Soviet Union to be strong and to firmly pursue a peace-loving policy. That is the right thing to want.

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR'S BOGDANOV ON U.S. REASONS FOR REJECTING MORATORIUM

LD252211 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1045 GMT on 25 September broadcasts a 14-minute program entitled "Appeal to Reason." Presented by Konstantin Patsyuk, the program is devoted to the unilateral Soviet test moratorium. Patsyuk invites his guest Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, deputy director of the United States and Canada Institute, to comment.

Explaining that the moratorium has two aspects, "the practical aspect connected with the liquidation of nuclear weapons and the halting of the arms race" and the fact that it creates an "atmosphere of confidence," Bogdanov says: "In brief, the problem boils down to the fact that he who continues to conduct nuclear tests continues the arms race, creates new types of nuclear weapons, new types of warheads."

Appealing to the United States to join the moratorium, Bogdanov says: "A bilateral moratorium, followed by a multilateral one, is a major link in the chain leading to the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security."

In response to Patsyuk's question on U.S. arguments against the moratorium, Bogdanov says that there is a "barrage" to cast doubt on the Soviet moratorium but that noting world support for the Soviet initiative, the United States has somewhat altered its arguments. He notes, for example, that the argument regarding the difficulty of verification has been "repeatedly demolished" by the testimony of U.S. scientists.

Bogdanov says: "The United States has been forced to come closer and closer to speaking the truth, and finally now, just recently no one in the United States hides his intentions when explaining why it continues the nuclear explosions and why it cannot join the moratorium. They say outright, the top U.S. political leaders moreover, that they will continue their policy of relying on nuclear weapons. They say it is not in the interests of the U.S. security to halt nuclear tests. So it is quite clear: All responsibility for continuing the arms race lies with the United States."

"Furthermore, it should be said here that there is another very important aspect: In addition to modernization of warheads, in addition to the creation of new types of nuclear weapons, it is a question of also creating the possibilities for the so-called nuclear trigger for space-strike systems. This nuclear trigger is being developed [otrabyvayetsya] in the course of the tests at the Nevada test site."

~~Bogdanov says that although the USSR is ready to have six neutral states monitor test activity, the United States evades this proposal and continues to insist on~~

verification. He asserts that the United States is continuing its testing in order to achieve military superiority over the USSR.

Summing up, Patsyuk says: "No, U.S. policy has not yet undergone cardinal change; nevertheless, as Comrade Shevardnadze noted in his speech at the 41st session of the UN General Assembly, there is reason to speak of light on the horizon of the world."

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CSO: 5200/1007

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR: U.S. JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUED TESTING CHALLENGED

PM251549 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Second Edition) in Russian 25 Sep 86 p 3

["Military Scientist's Opinion" by Professor Lieutenant General M. Milshteyn, retired: "Behind a Palisade of Excuses"]

[Text] The U.S. Administration is stubbornly reluctant to subscribe to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions and is continuing tests in Nevada at an accelerated pace.

When I read today the verbose claims of U.S. Administration spokesmen that subscribing to the moratorium will harm American security, I recall my recent trip to the United States and my participation in a Mississippi peace cruise. During that trip, as members of a Soviet delegation, we met with dozens of Americans representing broad sections of that country's population: farmers, teachers, workers, businessmen, municipal employees. I can tell you that the majority of the people with whom we talked resolutely support the idea of a moratorium. Unlike the administration, they do not believe a moratorium "threatens the national security" of the United States. According to public opinion polls, approximately 80 percent of Americans advocate a moratorium.

Then why does the White House so overtly ignore not only the opinion of other peoples (now a characteristic feature of American policy) but also the will of its own people? To answer this question, let us think: Does Washington need nuclear tests?

The answer is clear to me, a military scientist. Yes, it undoubtedly needs them -- if that country's political and military leadership considers it necessary to build up and improve nuclear arms, to create [sozdaniye] new arms, and to open up new directions of the arms race, including the militarization of space. In short, if there is an interest in continuing the arms race and in preparing for nuclear war.

And no, tests are totally unnecessary, if the United States were to build its policy not on its obsolete strategy of "nuclear deterrence" but on the specific realities of the nuclear age. For the essence of the new political thinking is awareness of the indisputable fact that building up nuclear arsenals and continuing the arms race not only does not strengthen security but, on the contrary, increases the risks of nuclear war, sharply increases the danger of war, and, in the final analysis, could have irreparable consequences. Here are data from the two-volume work "The Consequences of Nuclear War for the Environment," in whose preparation approximately 300 scientific workers from 30 countries, including the USSR, the United States, Japan, Britain, and

France, were involved. Even if only part of the stockpiled arsenals were used, the destruction of the ecological, economic, and social structures would make the restoration of life unlikely. the detonation of nuclear ammunition, in addition to lethal radiation and mass destruction, would give rise to colossal fires. As a result, hundreds of millions of metric tons of soot would rise into the atmosphere -- which would prevent the sun's rays from reaching the surface of the planet. The air temperature would drop sharply, by tens of degrees. The scientists' conclusion is unambiguous: Nuclear war would bring catastrophic consequences to people and their environment.

Nuclear tests are the starting point in the creation [sozdaniye] of new types of nuclear weapons. If these tests were stopped, the development [razrabotka], improvement and modernization of nuclear weapons would cease, and it would be more difficult to create [sozdaniye] systems of carriers for these weapons, which have to be tied to a specific type of ammunition. Finally, the door would be closed to new spheres of the arms race.

This is the real state of affairs. The Soviet idea of a moratorium certainly did not pursue mere propaganda ends, as American politicians claim. Let us recall what was declared at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva: Nuclear war must never be unleashed and it can have no winners. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the United States could have catastrophic consequences, the sides emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them -- nuclear or conventional. The sides emphasized that they would not strive for military superiority.

At present there is no shortage of declarations from the American side about the need to end the arms race. And the U.S. President's speech at the UN General Assembly session is a recent example of this. However, declarations remain just declarations. When the USSR, acting in full accordance with the spirit of the joint statement, proposed specific action -- and one capable, as we see, of most decisively breaking the vicious circle of the nuclear arms race -- Washington proved unable to overstep its anti-Soviet principles. The desire for military superiority still remains the dominant idea in the U.S. foreign policy course.

It is no coincidence that people in the American capital do not hide their annoyance at the fact that the moratorium has gained millions of supporters on all continents. It has become a kind of touchstone to verify true intentions. The ignoring of the Soviet initiative has demonstrated to the whole world not only the unrestrained U.S. craving for military superiority but also the mercenary and overtly dishonest nature of what the United States calls its policy in the arms control sphere.

As is known, in response to the offer to subscribe to the moratorium official Washington could only squeeze out proposals for some kind of "regulation of nuclear tests." Such "regulation," if adopted, would lead to the arms race taking a different course.

American propagandists and diplomats also try to present the matter as though the idea of a moratorium prevents the Soviet Union and the United States from reaching agreement on reducing nuclear arms. However, such claims contain not a single grain of truth. "Since the Geneva meeting," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out when answering the RUDE PRAVO chief editor's questions, "we have not gotten an inch closer -- despite all the USSR's efforts -- to an arms reduction agreement. But the mutual ending of nuclear explosions would make a real contribution to agreement over this."

You do not even have to be a specialist in this sphere to realize how much more convenient it would be to reach agreement on an arms reduction, knowing that your

partner in the talks is not at the same time developing [razrabatyvat] still more sophisticated nuclear arms systems than those whose reduction is being negotiated. The ending of nuclear tests, which, as already demonstrated, can be efficiently verified [kontrolirovat], would help to improve the atmosphere for holding talks. Thus, the moratorium does not hinder but helps a nuclear arms reduction. "The new arguments against a nuclear test ban," American Congressman E. Markey points out, "are no more convincing than the old ones. Both provide rhetorical cover for a policy which considers new military technology the very best means of solving the problems of our security."

So, as we see, the administration's excuses are rejected even by congressmen. What, then, is left of the White House position? It is now becoming increasingly obvious that forces which do not want any agreements or any other accords which could lead to a curtailment of the military programs that have been adopted or are still planned are exerting a real influence on the administration. And, by all accounts, talks are being conducted not to reach an agreement but to placate public opinion in the United States itself and abroad.

This is the U.S. Administration's position at the present time and its course in foreign policy affairs. This course can be called neither constructive nor simply sensible. For it is obvious that, by in point of fact sabotaging the process of reducing nuclear arms and refusing to subscribe to the moratorium, Washington is very seriously undermining the security of its own country. [paragraph continues]

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

MOSCOW COMMENTS ON U.S. 26 SEPTEMBER TEST

LD262021 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Sep 86

["Latest News" commentary by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] The American news agencies report that preparations are being completed at the Nevada test site for the next nuclear weapon test, set for today.

The Pentagon is continuing its course and pressing on with the arms race. And this despite the fact that, unlike Nevada, the Soviet nuclear test site remains perfectly quiet. It is being done in spite of the fact that, at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, emissaries of the world community, including even some of the representatives of the NATO countries, are pointing out how dangerous and ruinous the arms race is, and demanding that it should end on earth and be kept out of space.

And now, in order to influence public opinions somehow, Washington has lately made several simultaneous attempts to justify the explosions in Nevada. First, one of the assistants of the head of the Pentagon held a special briefing on the question; then Weinberger made a personal television appearance; and finally the President himself broke out into a lengthy speech at the White House. However, none of their arguments -- if they can be called such -- in favor of continuing nuclear tests were either original or convincing. Washington says nuclear explosions are needed to check the reliability of stockpiled ammunition. It is even reported that a third of American nuclear ammunition -- including the Pershing warheads -- have been found to be defective. Of course, all this indicates a pretty dangerous state of affairs, and one doesn't envy the West Europeans who are forced to live in vicinity of the faulty Pershings. But are we being asked to believe that the only way to remove all these dangers is to carry out more and more nuclear explosions? The reliability of nuclear arsenals can be monitored just as effectively -- and more cheaply and safely, as well -- by other methods, without nuclear explosions. And if the Americans are not familiar with these methods, the Soviet experts are willing to share their secrets.

But of course what is far more important is not that we keep our nuclear arsenals intact and in good condition, but that we reduce them and eventually, before the end of the present century, do away with them altogether. That, as you know, is just what our country proposes. The point, however, is precisely that Washington stubbornly refuses to move in that direction. On the contrary, the explosions in Nevada are designed to create more and more new types of nuclear weapons, including weapons for use in space. Incidentally, neither the President himself nor his collaborators, have made any secret of this in their speeches. But in that case, they are flying in the face of the entire world community, which demands that the threat of a nuclear disaster be averted.

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CSO: 5200/1007

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR MEDIA ON U.S. 1 OCTOBER NUCLEAR TEST

Initial TASS Report

LD290751 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 29 Sep 86

[Text] New York September 29 TASS -- By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev:

Another nuclear test is to be conducted at the Nevada test site on September 30, according to a spokesman for the U.S. Department of Energy.

The explosive device will be within the 20-150 kiloton range.

The spokesman said that this would be the tenth announced nuclear test this year.

UPI news agency quoted the anti-war organization, American Peace Test, as indicating that the U.S. detonated more nuclear devices than reported to the American public.

DOE Spokesman Cited

LD291430 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 29 Sep 86

["One More Explosion Planned in Nevada" -- TASS item identifier]

[Text] New York, September 29 TASS -- A test of nuclear weapons is to be held in Nevada on Tuesday, according to the U.S. Department of Energy.

According to a representative of the Department of Energy, the explosion will be the tenth U.S. announced nuclear test this year. But, the UPI points out, according to the anti-war "American Peace Test" Organization, there are also a number of undeclared tests. The United States introduced its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions.

Washington's stubborn refusal to join the Soviet moratorium is the cause of indignation of the peace public, also in the United States itself. According to the UPI, anti-nuclear movement militants announced the intention to hold a demonstration at the entrance to the test range on the day of the explosion.

The announcement about the planned new test in Nevada coincided with the trip by a group of Western journalists, American among them, to the Soviet nuclear test range,

and local political observers believe that this is symbolic. The aim of the trip was to show that structures in the Soviet test range stand idle, the CBS television company points out. Meanwhile, the United States is against complete ban on nuclear tests. The newspaper NEW YORK TIMES cited David Chavez, a seismologist from Nevada University, who came at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences to install monitoring equipment in the vicinity of the Soviet nuclear test range.

All the time we have been here there were no signs of activity on the test range, the expert from the United States stressed in a talk with journalists who participated in the trip.

'Diplomatic Bluff' on Monitoring

LD292001 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Is Washington ready for real and effective monitoring of nuclear tests? Valentin Zorin, political observer of Soviet television comments:

[Zorin] Hello, comrades. It is more than doubtful -- that would be my answer to this question. Incontrovertible facts, including recent ones, bear witness to this. For many years monitoring was regarded as the trump card in Washington's political deck. Blocking any progress at the Soviet-U.S. on halting the arms race and disarmament, successive U.S. Administrations insisted they were unable to trust the USSR to fulfill the obligations undertaken, while Moscow, it was alleged, was not willing to have reliable measures for monitoring the agreements, should these be reached.

From the very outset, statements of this kind were far from the truth -- and that's putting it mildly. After Comrade Gorbachev stated in a most unequivocal manner that our country was ready for full and comprehensive forms of monitoring, including on-site inspection, the entire diplomatic edifice erected by Washington swung in mid-air.

When U.S. scientists were given the opportunity of installing their equipment in the region of the Soviet nuclear testing range near Semipalatinsk this summer, in accordance with an agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Natural Resources Defense Council, the ground became even more shaky for Washington Politicians.

Moreover, Soviet and foreign journalists have visited the testing range. You saw reportage from this testing range in yesterday's "Vremya" program.

The Washington authorities, who suffer from a chronic logorrhea on the subject of the open and free U.S. society, have done nothing similar -- nor would they dare. From this it is not difficult to conclude that they do have something to hide, both from world public opinion and from their own people.

Events of the past few days also serve to convince one of this. In accordance with an agreement between Soviet and U.S. scientific establishments, Soviet seismologists ought to have been afforded the same opportunity as was given to their U.S. colleagues. However, in the U.S. capital they began to pile up one impediment after another. At the beginning the question of granting the relevant visas would drag on and on. Then it was as if they kind of decided to grant the visas -- but very much "kind of." The Soviet specialists are not allowed further from Washington; moreover their stay is made subject to conditions which are unacceptable a priori. Instead of carrying out a similar program to that being carried out by the U.S. seismologists in the region of

Semipalatinsk, attempts are made to turn our experts into supernumeraries who, by their presence, should, as it were, sanction the U.S. nuclear testing.

Acting in this manner, the Washington administration reveals its true positions, which have been carefully concealed for a long time. It becomes obvious that all of Washington's incantations on the subject of monitoring are nothing more nor less than diplomatic bluff.

In reality, the U.S. Administration fears and does not want such monitoring. The Soviet people have no special cause to lend credence to Washington's politicians' verbose assurance on their peaceful intentions. In these circumstances, their desire to impede the monitoring measures, against the backdrop of continuing nuclear tests in Nevada, yet another of which is scheduled for tomorrow, 30 September, cannot but give rise to justified concern on the part of the Soviet public.

Explosion Schedule, Danger

LD301531 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Text] Washington September 30 TASS -- The United States today intends to conduct a new nuclear explosion at the testing range in Nevada.

A TASS correspondent was told by a spokesman of the U.S. Department of Energy that an explosion code-named "Labquarc" [TASS spelling] was scheduled at 11 a.m. local time at the test site. The spokesman added, however, that because the wind was blowing in an unfavourable direction this could cause a certain postponement of the blast.

The Pentagon brass fears that in the event of a possible seepage of radioactivity after the explosion the radio active substances could be carried by the wind in the direction of the big nearby city of Las Vegas.

"Labyquarc" will be the 21st nuclear test (counting those that were not announced by Washington) to be conducted by the United States since the introduction by the Soviet Union of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

The anti-war public organisation, "American peace test", which is indignant at Washington's refusal to join this important Soviet peace initiative, began early this morning a "peace watch" at the gates of the nuclear testing site in Nevada.

Test Postponement

LD302136 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Excerpts] Washington September 30 TASS -- TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports:

A spokesman for the Nevada test range told a TASS correspondent that the atmospheric conditions and direction of the wind had not allowed of conducting a test blast. It has been put off so far.

According to news agencies, the USA is planning to detonate underground a nuclear device of a yield much greater than that of the atomic bomb which destroyed Hiroshima. This is confirmed, in particular, by the NBC television company which reported on Monday that the inhabitants of upper floors in Las Vegas had been warned about the possibility of a rocking of buildings at the time of the explosion.

Test Yield, Protests

LD010651 Moscow TASS in English 0550 GMT 1 Oct 86

[Text] Washington October 1 TASS -- TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

The United States carried out a new nuclear weapons test at the Nevada test site on Tuesday. According to a Pentagon spokesman, the yield of the blast was from 20 to 150 kilotons.

This test code-named "Labquarc" has become the 21st one since the Soviet Union imposed the unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions.

Opponents of the arms race held a mass demonstration outside the gate of the testing range in protest against the U.S. Administration's refusal to join the Soviet moratorium. Carl Sagan, an astronomer of world renown who took part in the march, said that the American people support the ban on nuclear testing. Both chambers of the U.S. Congress have declared in its favour. The White House is the only obstacle on the way to it, he said.

The demonstration involved hundreds of the delegates to the conference of the American Public Health Association, currently in session in Las Vegas, among them Doctor Bernard Lown, winner of the Nobel Prize and co-chairman of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War movement.

Addressing the conference, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter said that the United States should join the Soviet moratorium. He stressed that the refusal to do it would become a grave error which would present Washington in an unbecomingly light.

TASS Correction

Moscow TASS in English at 0609 GMT on 1 October 1986 transmits a corrected version of the preceding item which provides the following variations:

Paragraph two, sentence three is corrected to read: "A test ban is a mainstream idea. The people and both houses of Congress support the ban. It is only the intransigence of the White House that is in the way," he said.

The demonstration involved.... (rewording, providing quotation marks)

Last paragraph, last sentence is corrected to read: He stressed that the refusal to do it would become "an embarrassment and a serious mistake". (rewording, providing quotation marks)

Chernyshev: Danger Signed

LD010751 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GMT 1 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Chenyshev:

Another nuclear explosion thundered out at the U.S. testing range in Nevada Tuesday -- the 21st such blast since the Soviet Union has declared its test moratorium.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL had warned earlier that earth motion from the explosion should be felt 160 kilometers away.

Despite the fact that the nuclear explosive device was set off deep in a rocky outcrop in the Nevada desert, the blast-wearied earth carried the danger signal across the world.

The political reverberations were the peals of a tocsin telling mankind that another step had been taken to still bigger nuclear armories and, consequently, to the increased possibility of a tragic mistake -- the accidental outbreak of a nuclear war.

The blast also served further evidence that the U.S. political and military leadership continues basing its policy on the obsolete "nuclear deterrence" strategy and the immoral nuclear arithmetics of strategic superiority rather than on an analysis of the concrete realities of the nuclear and space age and that, despite its claimed commitment to peace and desire to destroy nuclear arms, it is interested in putting the arms race into still higher gear, letting it loose in new areas, including outer space, developing even more deadly weapons systems, and furthering material preparation for war.

Washington's disregard for the appeals and good practical example of the USSR -- the 18-month moratorium on all nuclear explosions -- has revealed to the nations not only its unrestrained craving for military superiority but also its true attitude to arms limitation and reduction.

Those set to manufacture another 28,000 nuclear munitions in the next few years in addition to their present stocks of 26,000 such warheads and to increase their nuclear armory substantially, replacing some of the old munitions with new ones, can hardly be interested in current disarmament talks producing results.

Those developing "third-generation" nuclear weapons have obviously no wish to destroy the nuclear genie. Those keen to load near-earth space with strike arms dream of adding a cosmic genie to the nuclear one.

This policy is resented throughout the world. The nations demand that Washington revise its unpromising but dangerous scale of values, join Soviet efforts to close the "nuclear club", and realize its responsibility to its own people and to all mankind.

'Devilish Chain'

LD011646 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 1 Oct 86

[Text] The United States has conducted another nuclear test in Nevada. Viktor Glazunov elaborates:

We live at a complicated and controversial time when hope coexists with anxiety. The gratifying news on the upcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan was followed by the disquieting reports on another nuclear test in Nevada. That was the 21st blast since the imposition of the unilateral Soviet nuclear moratorium. When will this devilish chain end? This question worries everyone because each new nuclear blast signifies a blow on human hope. Each new explosion is a challenge to the world community, whose representatives at the United Nations are calling for an end to nuclear tests. This call is ringing as an alarm bell over the globe saturated with nuclear charges.

All responsible statesmen in the world recognize the necessity of averting the nuclear threat, the necessity of nuclear disarmament. The United States leaders also recognize this: Why, then, are they persisting in their nuclear tests, which only serve to perfect the weapons of mass destruction and to develop new types of deadly hardware? United States Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger declared that it would be possible to ban nuclear tests when nuclear weapons cease to exist. With such perverse logic it is hardly possible to reach either goal. To end nuclear tests means to halt the nuclear arms race. To continue these tests means to persist in the arms race. Rhetoric in this connection is useless.

Silence has been reigning at the Soviet nuclear test sites for almost 14 months now. We are continuing to urge the United States to heed the voice of reason and the sense of self-preservation and to join the Soviet moratorium. This would be the first practical step on the path towards halting the nuclear arms race, after which it would be possible to start the process of freeing the globe from nuclear weapons.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

IZVESTIYA: U.S.-JAPANESE MANEUVERS POSE NUCLEAR THREAT

PM301507 Moscow IZVESTIYA (Morning Edition) in Russian 29 Sep 86 p 4

[B. Vinogradov "International Commentary": "Not Just the Straits..."]

[Text] A few days have passed since an appeal by the international democratic public to transform the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone was heard from Pyongyang. It was already reported that a conference on that subject was attended by more than 120 delegations from 78 countries, which expressed the ardent desire of peoples in Asia and other continents to make their contribution to the solution of security problems and the ensuring of lasting peace.

It is, however, evident that the ideas of "nuclear-free zones" and of peaceful cooperation and good-neighborliness are far from being to everyone's liking. And they are primarily not to the liking of the United States, which has involved Japan and South Korea in its aggressive strategy. This is proved by the large-scale U.S.-Japanese military maneuvers which are currently underway. They are rehearsing operations to block sea straits, to carry out landings of forces, and deliver missile and bomb strikes against ground targets. "By blocking the straits," the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA noted in this context, "the organizers of militarist games are attempting to block the very opportunity for detente and mutual understanding between states in the region." Let us add that this "flexing of muscles," and not only that, pursues a certain goal -- to whip up tension around the Korean peninsula and throughout the northwest Pacific.

The next series of combat exercises will begin on Japan's northernmost island of Hokkaido in October, with aviation, naval, and ground forces rehearsing almost identical operations in the immediate vicinity of the coast of the Soviet Union and the DPRK. Newspapers note that these will be the first such maneuvers in the entire postwar history of the U.S.-Japanese partnership. They will involve, in particular, subunits of Marines from U.S. bases in the Philippines and U.S. aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and stationed in South Korea.

The role of "important strategic point" will be assigned to the South Korean port of Pusan for the entire duration of the maneuvers. It was from there that the U.S. battleship New Jersey, the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Vinson and other ships of the U.S. squadron sailed into the Sea of Japan.

The broad and challenging demonstration of military power in this region, NODONG SINMUN, organ of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee, writes, is evidence that the southern party of the Korean peninsula continues to be transformed into the largest seat of military threat in the Far East. More than 1,000 units of nuclear ammunition are already deployed there as of today, while South Korea's coastal waters have become

the scene of permanent cruising by U.S. ships. It was noted at the Pyongyang conference that several dozen experimental types of neutron bombs have already been delivered in South Korea. It is also known that the Pentagon recently decided to deploy Pershing-2 missiles and ground-based cruise missiles on South Korean territory. "Episodes of a limited nuclear war" are being constantly rehearsed in regions adjacent to the border with the DPRK. It is no secret that all these preparations are being done according to a plan, hatched in the United States, to knock together a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul militarist triangle. According to news agency reports, the very same problems were also discussed during the Seoul visit by Japanese Prime Minister Y. Nakasone.

Such schemes generate serious alarm, and not just among the Asian public. All who hold peace dear express their protest against the buildup of military activeness by the Pentagon and its allies in this part of the Pacific Ocean. As an alternative to the dangerous tendency fraught with a universal catastrophe, the peace-loving peoples of the world welcome the constructive proposals by the USSR, the DPRK, and other socialist states for turning the Asian region into a zone of peace and cooperation. Evidence of this can be seen yet again in the results of the Pyongyang international conference.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR'S PETROSYANTS ON 'MARKING TIME' AT SOVIET-U.S. TALKS

LD010015 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Text] The second round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on the problem of ending nuclear weapons tests has ended in Geneva. Answering questions from a PRAVDA correspondent, Comrade Petrosyants, the head of the Soviet delegation, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy said that the atmosphere of the talks was a businesslike and working one, so to speak, but unfortunately we are for the moment marking time.

The third round of talks has been set for November. But, I have not lost hope that the U.S. Administration's position on the issues of a test ban will change. For, despite all possible propaganda tricks, more and more Americans are finding out the truth about the Soviet Union's position on this issue. The unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons tests and the lengthy silence at our nuclear testing ground in Semipalatinsk is not the peace-making rhetoric which the leaders of the United States have become so skilled in. The moratorium is the concrete expression of our peaceable policy and the most convincing testimony of the striving to remove the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war. Many Americans, too, understand this.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

MOSCOW ON DELAYS IN ADMISSION OF SOVIET SCIENTISTS TO NEVADA

Cochran Cited

PM301541 Moscow PRAVDA (First Edition) in Russian 28 Sep 86 p 5

[TASS report: "Spokes in Wheels. U.S. State Department Prevents Arrival of Soviet Seismologists"]

[Text] Washington, 27 Sep--The Washington administration is trying to derail the Soviet and American seismologists' joint experiment to monitor [nablyudeniye] nuclear tests. Thomas Cochran, chief geophysicist for seismographs of the Natural Resources Defense Council, declared this on Thursday.

He pointed out in conversation with journalists that at first the U.S. State department delayed the issuing of entry visas to a group of Soviet scientists who were to arrive in the United States 14 September to determine a site to set up seismographic equipment in accordance with an agreement signed by the Natural Resources Defense Council and the USSR Academy of Sciences. As is known, American scientists had already set up special equipment in the region of Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan in July within the framework of that agreement. The need for a return step, as provided for in the agreement, occasioned a fierce debate within the administration, according to THE WASHINGTON POST. Not wishing to openly ban the visit of scientist from the USSR, since such a step would once again draw attention to Washington's reluctance to end nuclear explosions, the American authorities agreed in the end to give permission for a USSR Academy of Sciences delegation to come. However, it was hedged about with conditions which, according to Cochran, are known to be unacceptable to the Soviet side.

Chief among them, according to information received by THE WASHINGTON POST, was the requirement to visit the nuclear testing ground in Nevada to "observe and measure the yield of the next underground nuclear explosion." In other words, the Washington administration is trying by hook or by crook to lure Soviet scientists to the Nevada range in order thereby to legitimize the U.S. continuation of nuclear tests at a time when the Soviet Union has unilaterally been firmly observing the moratorium on nuclear explosions for more than a year. THE WASHINGTON POST admits that the presence of Soviet scientists at the Nevada range would be tantamount to "sanctioning the continuation of nuclear tests."

The administration, T. Cochran pointed out, "wants to establish its control" over the Soviet scientific delegation's visit. The reason? The same WASHINGTON POST gives an exhaustive reply to this question. The newspaper states that the joint experiment

begun by the Natural Resources Defense Council together with the USSR Academy of Sciences has proved "a serious political embarrassment for the administration by demonstrating that observance of an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests can be efficiently verified" [proveryat]. "Our experiment," T. Cochran declared in an interview with a TASS correspondent, "has cut the ground from under the White House's arguments about the impossibility of verifying [proverka] a ban on nuclear tests. It has shown that claims that the Soviet Union is reluctant to take measures in the sphere of verification [proverka] are untrue, to say the least." So, the administration's reluctance to agree to a nuclear moratorium is connected not with technology but with politics, the scientist pointed out. The American authorities' latest action serves once again to confirm this.

Velikhov Cited

LD011329 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 1 Oct 86

[Vladimir Pozner commentary]

[Excerpts] It has been several months now since the National Resources Defense Council, the respected American scientific body, was invited by the Soviet Academy of Sciences to set up seismographic equipment not far from Semipalatinsk in Soviet Kazakhstan to monitor the USSR's compliance with the unilateral nuclear test ban it imposed upon itself as of August 6 1985 and has since prolonged four times.

The key person in having made this American on-site inspection [word indistinct] possible is Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, a leading expert in the external nuclear area and one of the most active figures in the nuclear disarmament movement. Last evening I met informally with Academician Velikhov. [passage omitted]

In 1983 and before that the American side repeatedly stated it was ready for a test ban provided there was adequate -- especially on-site -- inspection. Anyway, said Velikhov with a smile, these American scientists set off and began monitoring. Their equipment has been registering the U.S. nuclear tests in Nevada -- but nothing here. And all the while we've been waiting for Soviet scientists from our Academy to be invited to the test site in Nevada. We waited and waited and waited; and nothing happened. Finally, just yet again, the American side delivered. And here Velikhov chuckled. Was it that funny? I asked. Well, judge for yourself, he said.

Here's what they proposed. If we accept an invitation from the National Resources Defense Council, a non-government organization, we can go to Washington and spend 7 days visiting museums, taking in the sights -- and then go home. But forget about Nevada. If, however, we accept an official government invitation, then we can go to Nevada for 15 days and set up equipment to record U.S. tests and examine whether or not it's possible to determine test [word indistinct], that is, whether a test has a yield of say 151 kilotons instead of 150.

So what does that mean?, I asked. It means -- and here Velikhov laughed -- it means that in the all-important area of verification, the one item that was supposed to be the stumbling block to an agreement on a test ban, it's the Americans who have backed down. They are the ones who kept insisting on on-site verification, and now that we've

accepted it we see that in reality they never planned to do so. They just banked on our refusal to accept them. And the best they can offer now is to record tests, not to monitor their absence.

So on two crucial issues, space and testing, the Americans have done the opposite of what they originally asked for. We have done exactly what we and they agreed to do in the first place, in principle to stop the arms race. And Velikhov laughed again. I guess it is funny -- in a way.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS RESPONDS TO GAFFNEY REMARKS ON NEED FOR TESTING

LD262205 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 26 Sep 86

["Captives to Old Illusions" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS -- TASS news analyst Vladimir Matyash Writes:

The Pentagon is going to all lengths to continue its sinister nuclear test programme, which poses a threat to all life on earth. The latest proof of these designs is the remarks of Frank Gaffney, deputy assistant secretary of defense, nuclear force and arms control policy, who "brainwashed" at a briefing at the Pentagon the journalists who had called into question the purposes of continued nuclear testing. Whether we like it or not, the Pentagon's spokesman said, we have no alternative to nuclear weapons as a means of deterring the Soviet Union, either today or in the near future. He cited the need to "modernise" nuclear weapons as justification for nuclear testing.

Seeking to prove the necessity to test the "survivability" of weapons systems, Gaffney showed to journalists a photograph of the warhead of an unidentified missile which had presumably failed to withstand the impact to which it could be exposed and which had had to be upgraded. According to Gaffney, the modernisation of nuclear weapons includes efforts to make them safer.

All these facts show that the concept of deterrence, which is being expounded by the Pentagon so persistently, presupposes the continuous buildup of the nuclear arms arsenal. To make it easier to pursue this course in practice, it was necessary to create and maintain in public opinion a certain view of the "potential enemy", that is, the Soviet Union. Small wonder that the strategy of "deterrence", which is the basis of U.S. nuclear policy, portrays the Soviet Union as the "focus of evil". Its authors are inspiring enmity and hatred for the USSR.

Clearly, the American strategists are captives to old illusions. The continuous nuclear arms buildup prompted by the concept of "deterrence" has now made our earth a powder keg. One chance spark or technological malfunction can plunge the world into the flames of nuclear war. "Deterrence" can be called in this context a delayed-action bomb under mankind. Moreover, even its inventors cannot say when it will go off. This is the real threat posed by the American concept of "security."

To avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe, the Soviet Union suggests that all nuclear arms on earth are eliminated by the year 2000 and all nuclear explosions ended.

They said in the pre-nuclear age that a sword can only be countered with a sword. The sword in our age is nuclear and that is why people are so worried. What will we come to if we wield this sword as recklessly as the militarists on the other side of the ocean are doing?

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR: PHILIPPINES PANEL BACKS NUCLEAR ARMS-FREE AREA

PM261019 Moscow IZVESTIYA (Morning Edition) in Russian 24 Sep 86 p 1

[Own correspondent I. Kovalev dispatch: "Compromise Agreed"]

[Text] Manila — The Constitutional Commission elaborating the new text of the Philippines basic law has ended its discussion of a fundamental question: How should the Constitution reflect the hopes of the majority of Filipinos that their country be freed of the nuclear threat?

The commission has unanimously included the following provision in the draft constitution: "The Philippines, in accordance with national interests, adopts and implements a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons on its territory."

A considerable group of commission members insisted on more extensive formulations, mentioning specific U.S. military bases on Philippines territory. Insofar as this group found itself in the minority, it agreed to a compromise formulation. Several local observers believe that even this article in the Constitution may in the future be sufficient to provide the basis for specific government decisions and for conducting talks on the status of the Pentagon's military bases in the Philippines.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ON MORATORIUM, NATO EXERCISE PROGRAM

PM041010 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Second Edition) in Russian 24 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Captain 2d Ran V. Kuzar: "Policy of Realism Against Nuclear Madness"]

[Text] "A step deserving wholehearted approval," "An act of supreme state wisdom," "Evidence of the Soviet Union's truly indefatigable efforts for the good of peace and for the sake of ending the lethal arms race"... The Soviet Union's decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until 1 January 1987 has met with words of deep gratitude and support from the world public.

The statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Soviet television has filled the hearts of millions of people with a sense of hope. Hope that it will succeed in breaking the vicious circle of the arms race and force back militarism. The peoples can see the Soviet Union's unshakeable desire to free the world of the nuclear threat in the Soviet leadership's firmness and boldness in taking decisions and in its sincerity and frankness in defining a situation that is becoming increasingly intolerable. And this gives them strength and inclines them to determined struggle against reaction and militarism.

There is no need to particularly stress that it was not easy for the Soviet Union to take this decision. During the year in which the Soviet moratorium has been in effect the United States has carried out 18 nuclear explosions. And this is a great deal, considering the dangerous adventurism of Washington's neoglobalist policy and its aggressive intentions. It is a secret to no one that the Pentagon needs nuclear explosions in order to improve and modernize lethal weapons and create new types of such weapons, primarily space-based strike weapons.

Soviet people know who they are dealing with and never forget their own security. As M.S. Gorbachev has stressed, the country's security is a matter that is sacred to us; this must be clear to all. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government do everything necessary to protect Soviet people's creative labor against any encroachments. The Soviet Union cannot be intimidated by anything. It is capable of responding to any challenge from the United States, including its "star wars" program. If necessary, our country will quickly find an answer, and it will not be what ruling circles in Washington are expecting.

Thus, having weighed up all the "pros" and "cons" from every angle, the Soviet Union has extended its unilateral moratorium. This step has not been dictated by any weakness on our country's part, as the United States endeavors to present the matter. It is an example of new political thinking and action and of awareness of our great responsibility for the fate of mankind.

Relations between countries today, especially between nuclear powers, cannot be based on a "balance of fear." Even the most cautious calculations, the newspaper VOLKSSTIMME writes, show that the nuclear weapons stockpiled on our planet are sufficient to destroy the world population 15 times over. Just 1 percent of the present U.S. and USSR nuclear arsenals has a capacity 60 times greater than that of all the bombs and shells detonated during World War II. In this connection the words of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary sounded as a stern warning to militarist hotheads when he said that if someone nevertheless decides to carry out a first nuclear strike that person will himself be doomed to an agonizing death—not even from a counterstrike but from the effects of his own warheads being detonated.

In the nuclear and space age the only path to real peace is the total elimination of nuclear weapons. But for this one needs the political will and one must be prepared to take the historic test of maturity. The Soviet Union has demonstrated this will by its decision to re-extend the moratorium on nuclear explosions. What is more, our country is already following this path, because the moratorium is not merely a proposal but primarily an action.

The peoples of the world expect the same action from Washington and its closest allies. However, the initial reaction to the constructive Soviet initiative to come from both the State Department and White House spokesmen does not as yet inspire optimism. Judge for yourselves. Even 45 minutes before the beginning of the Soviet leader's speech, State Department spokesman Redman allowed himself to anticipate the USSR's proposal and spoke against the United States joining the moratorium. And White House spokesman Speakes, commenting on the Soviet Union's decision, cynically said that the United States will continue to carry out nuclear explosions.

The militarization of political thinking in the United States and other NATO countries continues in opposition to peoples' interests. For the sake of making a profit from arms production, satisfying imperial ambitions, and robbing developing countries, the forces of reaction and militarism are forcing the pace at which unprecedented military programs are being implemented and engaging in other military preparations, including rehearsals for unleashing and waging aggressive wars.

Indicative in this respect are the recently begun "Autumn Forge-86." More than 200,000 servicemen and a vast quantity of combat equipment and weapons are being dispatched to the regions of these militarist games. And they will cover the entire territory of Western Europe and last more than 2 months. And this at a time when peoples are seriously concerned by the growth in the nuclear threat. And when the first stage of the Conference on Confidence Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, one of whose tasks is to limit military activity on land, at sea, and in the air, is coming to a close in Stockholm.

A concentrated demonstration of military strength in close proximity to socialist countries' borders is clearly provocative. This is attested to both by the Unified strategic design of the "Autumn Forge-86" maneuvers, which include 20 separate exercises involving ground troops and naval and air forces, and by the cynical propaganda background against which they are being conducted.

A special feature of the current series of NATO exercises is the fact that half of them will be conducted in Northern Europe. And this is no accident. Atlanticists have long assimilated this region, which borders directly on the USSR, considering it to be one of the main regions in their aggressive strategy. Thus, the British General Farrar-Hockley, commander in chief of NATO Allies Forces in the North European theater of military operations, has made the claim that "if a war in Europe is not won on the northern flank, it will be lost completely."

The NATO strategists are also pursuing political aims by declaring Northern Europe the main zone for conducting "Autumn Forge-86." As is well known, Northern Europe has gone further than other regions on the continent with regard to deflecting the nuclear threat from itself. The idea of a nuclear-free north is taking hold in the minds of more and more people living in this region. And at a recent meeting of the prime ministers of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland the decision was taken to form a special commission to study the possibility of declaring Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone. It is precisely this process that alarms the Atlanticists, who have set themselves the aim of impeding this process at all costs, undermining faith in nonnuclear principles, and creating an atmosphere of military psychosis and anti-Soviet hysteria in the European north. This is also confirmed by the intention of the NATO military to send to the regions where the exercises are to be conducted, the newspaper LAND OG FOLK writes, units and subunits armed with nuclear means.

Without a doubt the "Northern Wedding-86" exercises will be the biggest in the northern series. Approximately 35,000 military servicemen, 150 surface ships and submarines, and several hundred fighter planes from nine NATO countries will begin their exercises on 29 August in the extensive waters of the northeast Atlantic, in the zone of the English Channel, and in the North Sea and the Baltic. The U.S. marines will also be brought into action, its units carrying out an assault landing together with the Norwegians and Danes on Norwegian and Danish shores. The exercises will last until 19 September.

The "Brave Lion" exercises must also be singled out, in the course of which, to please the Pentagon, the largest transfer of Canadian troops to Europe since World War II will take place. Approximately 5,000 Canadian military servicemen will be taken by air and sea between 31 August and 3 September to Norway, where, in conjunction with Norwegian and American troops, they will begin working out elements of combat operations under polar conditions in a region directly bordering on the Soviet Union.

Since 19 August NAOT airforce exercises have been in progress over Danish territory, opening the "Autumn Forge-86" maneuvers. A large number of aircraft from the Danish Airforce are taking part, and also almost 100 fighter planes from other countries in the bloc. According to reports in the newspaper LAND OG FALK, in the course of 3 weeks this airborne armada will "bomb" targets on land and at sea. What is more, the majority of the flights are being carried out at low altitudes, which, as the newspapers note, is creating intolerable conditions for the local population.

As always, one of the main regions for NATO maneuvers is still FRG territory, which Atlanticists regard as the most important bridgehead for waging a war in Europe. In close proximity to the borders of socialist countries the West German Bundeswehr and formations and units from the armies of the NATO countries will work out, in accordance with the so-called "Rogers plan," the delivery of a first combined strike at the very heart of the strategic formation of Warsaw Pact troops. The biggest exercises within the "Autumn Forge-86" framework are those involving tank units: "Springendes Ross" (8-12 October) in the Bramsche and Bremen region; "Radiant Saber" (20 October-3 November) in the Ingolstadt region; "Buntes Fennlein" (3-7 November) in Upper Pfalz. What is more, there will be other exercises involving ground troops and also the airforce.

It cannot but be noted the French-West German "Frankische Schild" exercises are being held at the same time as the "Autumn Forge-86" exercises. A total of 57,000 West German and French military servicemen will be taking part. The North Atlantic bloc leadership describes them as "separate bilateral exercises" because France, they say, is not part of the NATO military organization. Nevertheless, these exercises, as the Western press stresses, are closely coordinated with the "Autumn Forge" maneuvers both in design and in their timing. This fact, like many others, attests that France's military policy is becoming increasingly integrated with the militarist activity of the entire bloc. This trend cannot help but arouse serious concern among the progressive public.

And finally, NATO's southern flank. Four NATO exercises are to be carried out in the Mediterranean and Black Sea region within the "Autumn Forge" framework. Beyond any doubt, the main operative force in these exercises will be the American 6th fleet. It has already begun its own exercises involving two aircraft carriers. Judging by reports from foreign information services, they are to rehearse carrying out a surprise air attack along the lines of the barbaric attack on Libya in April. Miscalculations and shortcomings permitted at that time are to be taken into account in the operations by American forces. The Pentagon does not conceal the fact that it intends to involve its allies in this training. And this will be done in the course of the "Autumn Forge" maneuvers.

A sensation has been raised in the U.S. press surrounding the nauseating subject of "Libyan terrorism" and people are demanding that this "obstinate" Arab country be taught a lesson--this at the same time as the beginning of exercises by the 6th fleet. In this connection American fleet operations and NATO military activity in the Mediterranean should be regarded as further manifestation of the U.S. neoglobalist policy.

The saber rattling, negative reaction to the provocative actions attest that neither Washington nor NATO headquarters are yet ready for a new approach in their assessment of the realities of the contemporary world. The militarists and nuclear madmen are still drawn to methods of force to resolve world problems, without considering the possible consequences of these methods. However, they clearly overestimate their strength. The potential for peace is growing. There is now every possibility to force back militarism and not to place the fate of the world in the hands of those who irresponsibly orient themselves toward the arms race and total political license.

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CSO: 1801/2

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR'S PRIMAKOV: TEST BAN WILL IMPROVE POLITICAL CLIMATE

LD241943 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 24 Sep 86

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS -- An end to nuclear testing can more effectively than any other single measure lead to an improvement of the socio-political climate in the world, Soviet Academician Yevgeniy Primakov said in an interview.

He stressed that the USSR's decision to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear blasts till January 1, 1987, is a proposal to the United States to make a breakthrough into new political mentality. If a Soviet-American accord is reached, an atmosphere will ripen for by far more confidence between the two countries, and it will be of decisive significance to create a favourable climate, for putting an end to dangerous regional conflicts.

An end to nuclear testing is directed at putting a stop to the most dangerous process of qualitative perfection of nuclear weapons. This universal measure in the field of disarmament, Primakov continued, can at once limit the development of all nuclear systems -- both strategic, medium-range and tactical ones.

Along with a ban on testing is the speediest and most radical of all the practicable steps at present towards a limitation of weapons since it makes it possible to by-pass a large number of problems in connection with technological, strategic, geostrategic and political disproportions.

In insisting on a continuation of nuclear testing, American politicians and top brass are actually talking not of security which is based on preservation of the military-strategic parity with the USSR, but of attempts at ensuring a military advantage over the Soviet Union, Academician Yevgeniy Primakov emphasized.

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CSO: 5200/1007

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

PRAVDA: SCIENTISTS AFFIRM TEST-BAN VERIFICATION CAPABILITY

PM301023 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 September, First Edition, carries on page 4 under the general heading "The Moratorium and Verification" a 2,400-word feature on the feasibility of nuclear test monitoring. The feature includes articles of differing lengths by scientists from the United States, Japan, the FRG, Britain, Italy, New Zealand, and Peru as well as the following "Soviet Specialist's Commentary" by Academician M. Sadovskiy, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Earth Physics Institute:

"In discussions of scientific questions one by no means always observe such a convincing consensus of opinion as is the case in assessments of the possibility of detecting and identifying underground nuclear explosions.

"This question has a long history. We recall that the fundamental possibility of positively solving it was established back in 1958 at a conference of experts in Geneva.

"The conference participants, including scientists of world renown (N.N. Semenov, I.Ye. Tamm, E. Lawrence, J. Cockcroft, H. Bethe, and others), concluded that it was possible to reliably monitor [kontrol] the fulfillment of an agreement banning all nuclear tests and drew up a document clearly formulating conditions needed to create an international system for monitoring [kontrol] underground nuclear explosions.

"However, approximately 6 months after the Geneva conference an unexpected 'rebuttal' of the scientists' conclusions appeared in the form of 'new seismic data' presented by the U.S. side. Unfortunately, the real inspirers of the 'rebuttal' venture achieved what they wanted. The action of the Geneva conference of experts was halted. Ground was prepared for a growth among nonspecialists of suspicion and distrust of the potential of seismology.

"Since then science's potential has grown many times. Now there are absolutely no grounds for doubts as to the possibility of detecting and identifying nuclear explosions with the help of existing national means. Nonetheless, harmful consequences of the 'new data' sabotage are still felt, revealed in the distorted ideas that are quite widespread in the West. Thus the importance of telling people the true state of affairs and the opinions of scientists and specialists, particularly those quoted here.

"There is no need to repeat them. I will merely dwell on the words of T. Cochran (United States). He believes that joint Soviet-U.S. experiments are needed to remove American's distrust of Soviet statements on the USSR's readiness to strictly fulfill the conditions of a treaty banning underground tests, if one is signed. Americans, he said, will be convinced not by words but by actual monitoring [kontrol] of our

fulfillment of the treaty's conditions. We will go into the sources of their distrust. As previously noted, it is inspired by U.S. leading circles. We will note that T. Cochran himself believes that existing technology and methods, given an identical number of stations in the USSR and the United States, are sufficient to register even explosions of less than 1 kiloton.

"It should also be said that U.S. scientists have proved the flimsiness of hiding underground explosions in vast underground chambers ('decoupling'). Furthermore, as T. Cochran rightly points out, such explosions are difficult to carry out and can easily be detected by nonseismic means. (Ch. Arshambo) and others have shown that by observing the high-frequency components of earth tremors caused by an explosion under 'decoupling' conditions its masking effect is reduced by a factor of 10.

"Thus there would seem to be no obstacles to concluding an agreement banning nuclear tests. However, my more than 30-year experience of participating in the struggle to ban underground nuclear tests does not make me confident that the U.S. leadership will not dream up some new reservations. The Americans are frankly stating their lack of faith in us. So why should we -- and I in particular -- not admit that we have no faith in the actions of the U.S. Administration?"

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CSO: 5200/1007

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR: FOREIGN JOURNALISTS VISIT SOVIET NUCLEAR TEST SITE

First Day

LD261707 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 26 Sep 86

[Text] Semipalatinsk September 26 TASS -- TASS special correspondents Vladimir Itkin and Lev Chernenko report from a Soviet nuclear test site:

The first Americans to see a Soviet nuclear test site at close quarters are journalists Ilene O'Connor and Robert Tanner, who represent TV companies of the USA, Western Europe, Canada and Japan.

They arrived at the test site together with a group of foreign correspondents. The visit, the first ever, was organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

A special Aeroflot flight today took the journalists from Moscow to Semipalatinsk and they were eventually brought to the site. Some foreign correspondents, fond of saying that a good deal in this country is shrouded in secrecy, could never have imagined that they would find themselves at that site. Keen-eyed American satellites are most certainly constantly watching the spot from up there but they have not recorded anything of interest in more than a year now. The site has become a staging area for a peace offensive.

The Soviet test site has been quiet since August last year in accordance with the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium. This quiet is being listened to by sensitive American instruments set up near the site at Karkaralinsk in a Soviet-American experiment to monitor a nuclear test ban. The instruments say everything is as it should be -- but it is better to see once than hear a thousand times, to see with the unaided eye, not through satellites, to take pictures with conventional cameras, so that the world should have another proof of our honesty and trust, our being true to our word and readiness to take the first step. This first-hand proof is no less important than scientific data and seismograms recorded by the American scientists near the site.

Soviet seismologists who are to have an opportunity to make observations in Nevada under the terms of the joint experiment have not yet been given U.S. visas. American TV journalists, meanwhile, are going to send a live report from the nuclear test site.

Major General Yuriy Viktorovich Lebedev of the General Staff of the Ministry of Defence of the USSR [Moscow TASS in English at 1716 GMT on 27 September transmits a service message correcting Lebedev's title to read: ...general staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR....(changing "Ministry of Defence" to "Armed Forces")], who accompanies the journalists, said:

"Some dishonest politicians and journalists in the West say that the Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear tests is Soviet propaganda. So it is, we are carrying out propaganda for detente, we do not want the world to be jolted by nuclear blasts, and now we are taking another step in this propaganda, giving a group of foreign journalists from major news agencies, TV and radio broadcasting companies and newspapers an opportunity to visit and inspect a nuclear test site near Semipalatinsk, which has been quiet for more than a year. I want to stress that the media are being admitted to such a facility for the first time ever. Is it not a manifestation of goodwill and the desire to use every opportunity to draw attention to the Soviet Union's vigorous and offensive policy of peace and to our appeal to the other side to follow this example and stop the tests of nuclear weapons of every type."

General Lebedev stressed that while foreign journalists, including Americans, had arrived at the Soviet test site, the USA had not yet issued entrance visas to the Soviet scientists who under the bilateral agreement are to mount seismographic equipment near the Nevada test site. He said that the journalists would also visit Karkaralinsk, a city in the Karaganda region, where American seismologists are now working.

"I appreciate very much the trip organised by the Soviet Foreign Ministry," a correspondent of the Japanese news agency KYODO TSUSHIN, K. Azawa, said. "Up to now not a single one of my colleagues has ever seen such a facility as a nuclear test site, which are kept secret in any country. I want to inspect most closely and to think over everything we will be shown and told. It is of great interest to me personally and to millions of readers and listeners all over the world who are waiting for our reports. The USSR is unilaterally continuing to observe its moratorium, which is admired by all those who want peace. I am all for the moratorium and that is why I flew to Semipalatinsk so willingly and why I have such an interest in everything I see around."

The visit, billed as sensational by all the journalists, and with good reason, has begun.

Second Day

LD271948 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 27 Sep 86

[Text] Semipalatinsk September 27 TASS -- TASS special correspondents Vladimir Itkin and Lev Chernenko report from the nuclear test site:

Massive iron doors at the foot of the rock flung open. The silo was opened. A chain of lamps illuminated the rocky vaults. Rails were running into the distance, cables and pipes stretched out. Those gates were opened to outsiders for the first time. American journalists Ilene O'Connor and Robert Turner focused their television cameras in the hope to record the historical moment: The Soviet nuclear test range revealed its secrets before them. The foot of the reporter has never stepped there. And now a whole group of journalists: representatives of the press of socialist countries, of such large world news agencies as REUTERS, FRANCE PRESSE, and KYODO were afforded the opportunity to visit the test range in the area of the city of Semipalatinsk where in compliance with the moratorium silence has been reigning for over a year now.

The military facility became accessible to outsiders. American seismic instruments, which are installed nearby under the terms of the experiment to verify the ban on nuclear tests conducted jointly by Soviet and U.S. scientists, monitor the test range silence. As the saying goes, it is better to see once than hear one hundred times. It is no less important when one sees it with one's own eyes than studies, scientific data

and seismograms. So, the journalists could see for themselves that the silos at the Soviet test site, which are ready for trials, are mothballed.

We ask foreign colleagues to share their impressions of the visit to the test site.

K. Ezawa, KYODO, Japan, says that he greatly appreciates the trip as the USSR Government decided to show foreign journalists what has so far been a military secret. He said that when he looked at places where nuclear explosions were conducted it seemed that those were archaeological exhibits before him, so unnecessary it all seemed now. He expressed the hope that the United States would join the Soviet moratorium.

Kate Clark, the newspaper "MORNING STAR", Britain, told us that the trip to the place where explosions were carried out was unusually interesting. When one thinks how much money could be spent for peaceful purposes, one sees what cumulative work had to be done because the United States conducts tests, Clark said. This confirms the idea that there is no sense whatsoever in all this from the point of view of preserving peace, from the financial point of view and all other points of view. Clark spoke of the impression made by the words of the head of the test site who said that although he was a military man, he hoped that there would be no more explosions.

The journalist spoke about the indignation by the fact that nuclear blasts were continued to be carried out in Nevada when the USSR had imposed the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. [sentence as received] An end to nuclear testing will become a giant step towards peace. The journalist said that the moratorium deeply impressed those people in Britain who knew about it. The peace movement support it, it helps the peace campaigners in their struggle. The longer the Soviet moratorium will be in effect, the clearer it will be in Britain and in the West generally that the U.S. stand was and remains to be war-like.

Before returning to Moscow, we asked Major-General Yuriy Lebedev, representative of the General staff of the USSR Armed Forces who accompanied the journalists, to assess the results of the trip.

The trip by Soviet and foreign journalists to the nuclear test site, he said, is a graphic example of the USSR's genuine striving to exert every effort to bring about the United States' joining the Soviet moratorium.

In the West they are known simply to cover up sometimes the USSR's steps designed to stabilize the international situation and strengthen peace. The visit of foreign journalists at the Soviet nuclear test site will allow wider circles of the international public to learn about the Soviet Union's peace actions. On the other hand, the trip will help give the lie to the fabrications that the USSR is preparing for conducting new nuclear explosions.

The journalists returned to Moscow late in the evening.

29 Sep Report

LDJ91410 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 29 Sep 86

["Silence in the Nuclear Test Range"--TASS item identifier]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Vladimir Itkin and Lev Chernenko report from the Soviet nuclear test range:

Eileen O'Conner, assistant of cameraman Robert Turner and also sound director, a fragile-looking American woman, was lugging for practically two days the bulky and heavy sound recording equipment, always rejecting a helping hand she was offered. She was in a hurry. And one could very well understand why, since together with her colleague, she was taking pictures in the very heart of the Soviet nuclear test range. Representing the pool of the Western television companies (USA, Western Europe, Canada and Japan), the American journalists photographed and recorded literally everything they saw and heard from the officials of that secret facility, which are, for that matter, secret also in all other countries. The Americans were two of the multinational "team" of journalists formed by the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry for a trip to the test range. The "team" included representatives of the REUTER, FRANCE PRESSE, AP and UPI agencies, the Japanese KYODO agency, the British MORNING STAR, of Czechoslovak television, of the national newspapers of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland. The Soviet Union was represented by PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, TASS, APN and the USSR State Television and radio.

In a special flight, a TU 134 Aeroflot plane brought the newsmen from Moscow's Vnukovo Airport to Semipalatinsk. They were welcomed there by Lieutenant General Arkadiy Ilyenko, superintendent of the Test Range.

Then an airforce plane brought the group to the township where the "test range people" and their families live. The newsmen were shown around the town, which, for understandable reasons, has no official name so far. The journalists paused for a while outside the house, where Igor Kurchatov lived and worked. Now it houses a hotel, which, in common with other hotels and hostels in the town, is vacant. The moratorium is in force. On the house of Igor Kurchatov there is a memorial plaque and next to it a monument to the scientist cut out of granite excavated nearby.

Next morning two MI-8 helicopters brought the newsmen to the test range, which is at a distance of one hundred kilometres from the town. General Ilyenko together with army officers and experts accompanying the group showed the newsmen a number of objects in the test range.

The correspondents had an opportunity not only to visit them, but also photographed and filmed the galleries, which were used for nuclear blasts.

They were shown the tunnels, which were once prepared for new nuclear tests. Work in them has been suspended in connection with the announcement of the moratorium. A dosimeter operator demonstrated the readings of the instrument: The pointer showed a stable radiation background.

"When we went out of the tunnel I noticed how an officer on duty locked up the gate." I was told by Bulgarian journalist Atanasov. "And it occurred to me that it would be good to put on such a padlock on a huge hangar, in which weapons from all over the world were stockpiled and then that hangar were destroyed."

"Our test range has been silent for more than a year now. Neither nuclear nor conventional weapons and explosives are tested here so that there be no confusion and we should not be accused of violating the moratorium", General Arkadiy Ilyenko said. "You are the first newsmen to have visited the test range and we have honestly shown it to you. You have seen and heard silence. We wish you to tell the world all about that honestly."

The helicopters brought newsmen to Karkaralinsk, a small town near which American seismologists are watching over the observance of the moratorium. Young American seismologists David Tacker and his colleague David Chavez were unanimous: "We have here ideal conditions of work. The Soviet colleagues have assisted us in boring a well down to a depth of 75 metres. The first of three which are to be drilled here. By sinking seismic equipment into it, we will be able to register even more accurately earth tremors resulting from any blasts. So far we are registering silence, and honestly, speaking, we are glad that this is so."

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CSO: 5200/1007

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR: KAZAKH TEST MONITORING PROVES VERIFICATION 'POSSIBLE'

'Realities' of Monitoring

PM011159 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Sep 86 p 3

[Special correspondent Ye. Zhurabayev report: "At the Test Site in Kazakhstan; the Soviet-American Experiment: Realities and Potential"]

[Text] Karkaralinsk, Bayanaul, Semipalatinsk — The topic of monitoring [kontrol] nuclear tests is being discussed with much interest throughout the world in newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasts. Viewpoints frequently diverge, but gradually, despite partial differences, a common conclusion is emerging, namely that from the technical viewpoint verification [kontrol] is possible and that what is needed is simply the sides' goodwill and a reasonable amount of courage. Verification [kontrol] issues are not just being discussed, the first practical steps have already been taken.

One cannot help describing this scientific experiment as bold. Judge for yourselves. Under its terms, the Americans with their observation equipment are given access to the 200-km zone around the nuclear test site in Kazakhstan and Soviet seismologists in turn get access to the area around the Nevada test site. So far there is no nuclear test ban treaty, nor even a U.S. moratorium, and the rehearsal of the methods of verification [kontrol] has already begun in the field.

Incidentally, this experiment conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the U.S. Natural Resources Defense Council is not proceeding as smoothly as one might wish. But let us begin at the beginning.

There is an influential nongovernmental organization in the United States — the Natural Resources Defense Council — funded by private subscription. The council, like many other public associations is trying to convince the White House and the U.S. Congress that a nuclear test ban treaty lends itself to reliable verification [kontrol] and that, consequently, there are no objective obstacles to its conclusion from this viewpoint. One of the typical arguments of the opponents of a test ban agreement states that although the Russians are talking about peace day and night, they will never agree to on-site inspection [inspektsiya]. And so the leaders of the council — Dewind, Cochran, and Von Hippel have put to Academician Velikhov a proposal to counter the dangerous demagoguery of the "unbelievers" with action. It was decided that it would be expedient to site three monitoring [kontrolnyy] stations around each of the USSR and the U.S. test sites. The USSR Academy of Sciences, obtaining the support of our country's leadership, was ready for specific measures on Soviet territory within a very short time. In May this year the two countries' scientific organizations signed a

corresponding agreement, although our American partners had yet to convince their government not to hamper the experiment -- it concerns, after all, the Pentagon's holy of holies, the Nevada test site, and also the exportation of scientific equipment on which restrictions have been imposed in the past by the United States. As distinct from the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Natural Resources Defense Council could not give any guarantees that it would be able to abide by its commitments.

Nonetheless, as early as July this year representatives of the council arrived in Kazakhstan accompanied by NEWSWEEK, THE NEW YORK TIMES, and ABC correspondents. They included such prominent U.S. scientists as James (Evergreen), a leading theoretician in world seismology and Charles Chambeau, scientific consultant to the Delhi Six. Together with Soviet colleagues they chose three monitoring [kontrol] sites and soon surface installation of recording equipment began. This equipment, although it is not the last word in science, is quite adequate for the tasks it is intended for. It must be said that the U.S. Departments of Defense and of Commerce gave permission of its exportation without delay and the U.S. State Department gave official permission for the U.S. specialists to leave the country to operate the equipment on the spot. This indicates the U.S. side's interest in having its side in the area of the Soviet test site. Thus it could be claimed that even at the initial stage, the U.S. Administration is willy-nilly to some extent involved in the scientists' experiments. The "big press" in the United States noted that the government should participate directly in such an important venture instead of leaving it entirely to a public organization.

So what is the state of play at the moment?

I have visited all three monitoring sites scattered over the boundless steppe in northeast Kazakhstan. They are located in the settlements Karkaralinsk (Karaganda Oblast), Bayanaul (Pavlodar Oblast), and Karasu (Semipalatinsk Oblast). The location of the sites was chosen to reliably cover the whole test site, and the granite rocks which reach the surface here ensure the most favorable geological conditions for observation. As early as 17 July the equipment installed in Karkaralinsk registered the first explosion in...Nevada.

As I was told by the Soviet participants in the experiment, staffers of the Earth Physics Institute F.S. Tregub and N.F. Yukhnin, the silence at the Soviet test site is being monitored with a safety margin which is greatly exceeds requirements. In view of the fact that a minor earthquake in Greece has been registered and almost all the explosions in Nevada (with the exception of the three smallest ones which had a yield of less than 1 kiloton -- the established ceiling for nuclear explosions being a yield of 150 kilotons), the equipment would simply have to be switched off in the event of a nuclear test in Kazakhstan because otherwise all the sensors would be overloaded. The views of the Soviet scientists are shared by their American colleagues who work with them in Kazakhstan. I talked to David Chavez, a geophysicist from the University of Nevada in Reno.

"I am fully satisfied with the progress of work here in Kazakhstan. We are embarking on the second stage of the experiment, the installation of equipment in special shafts at a depth of 70-100 meters. This will enable us to avoid the problems we encounter on the surface in connection with daily and seasonal temperature fluctuations. In Karkaralinsk and Bayanaul these shafts are ready and the shaft in Karasu is nearing completion. By the end of October, beginning of November, new, more sensitive equipment we expect from the United States is to be installed in these shafts provided, of course, that it is not embargoed. Working here, we have been able to acquaint ourselves well with the geological composition of the rocks in the area of the test site. The local crystalline rocks are different from the rocks in Nevada and favor the

transmission of compressional shock waves to such an extent that our experts frequently overestimated the yield of previous Soviet explosions. For this reason it has sometimes been claimed that you exceeded the 150 kiloton ceiling. Thus our experiment is already contributing to reducing suspicions.

"Suspicion is a terrible thing," D. Chavez goes on. "Not trusting each other, our countries are spending substantial sums of money on deterrents while many other states are calmly investing in the economy, education, people's welfare, and development. In our country the military have overloaded the economy, they are squandering money which the society badly needs. All this talk about SDI simply gets on your nerves. After all, it is a terribly expensive thing and you will no doubt come up with something to counter it. Concerned about a mythical military threat, the administration may overlook a real economic danger. When the Soviet Union first announced its unilateral moratorium, many people in our country thought at the time the Russians simply had not need for nuclear explosions. However the silence which has lasted for more than 1 year at the test site has convinced them you have taken a courageous and difficult step which demonstrates readiness for real and even more serious business. And similarly, the experiment we are conducting has a tremendous political significance. The point is not so much its scientific side -- here everything has been clear for a long time -- but the fact that you were the first to summon up courage to open up the approaches to your test site."

Yes, we were the first to do so, despite our legitimate misgivings, despite the arms race that is being foisted on us, despite the fact that not a chance is missed to provoke us, and despite the exceptional political intransigence of the present U.S. Administration. Furthermore, up to now, the experiment has been one-sided to a certain extent. The Americans have been in Kazakhstan for quite some time and meanwhile their Soviet colleagues whose first visit to Nevada was scheduled for 14 September have still not received their visas from the U.S. State Department. Granting visas means sanctioning the experiment on U.S. soil.

"I simply refuse to believe that they will not issue the visas in the end," D. Chavez sighs.

But time does not stand still, the agreed deadlines are not being met, and the experiment remains one-sided. Let us reserve our final judgment. There is still hope that the official U.S. circles will demonstrate reason. Washington must decide whether to give the go-ahead to the promising experiment which can largely resolve the question of verification [kontrol] even before a corresponding all-embracing treaty is signed, or whether rudely to thwart the scientists' efforts. One thing is clear. In the present-day world the process of adopting important decisions demands that both sides display reason.

U.S. Scientist Cited

LD272129 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Sep 86

[Text] A third nuclear test monitoring station has begun operating in Kazakhstan. Our correspondent Vladimir Lyashko reports:

The first was set up several months ago in Karkaralinsk, in the framework of the joint Soviet-American experiment on the monitoring of nuclear tests. It became the main base

for seismologists of both countries, and it is there that the data obtained at the other two stations are processed and studied.

The apparatus installed at the stations makes it possible to record with a high degree of precision the underground nuclear explosions that the United States is still carrying out. The results of the experiment strikingly confirm that nuclear tests can be reliably monitored by means of technical devices. I am holding in my hands some seismograms recording several of the latest American explosions. Their echo was carried here from Nevada by underground waves. Meanwhile, at the Soviet nuclear testing site adjacent to the station, silence has reigned for more than year; and the American instruments record that silence, too.

In answer to my question as to how Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's announcement of another extension of the Soviet moratorium has been received, David Chavez, a seismologist from Nevada State University, said that he learned of it with deep satisfaction. This shows again the USSR's sincere desire to put an end to nuclear tests. It is a good example to the United States. Am sure, David Chavez continues, that the work of our mixed group can make a big contribution to achieving a test ban.

On his attitude to policy of the present U.S. Administration, David Chavez said he was disappointed in it. He would have liked to see a positive reaction to the Soviet peace proposals.

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CSO: 5200/1007

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

SOVIET ACADEMICIANS INTERVIEWED ON TEST BAN

PM291530 Moscow PRAVDA (First Edition) in Russian 27 Sep 86 p 4

["Academicians' Dialogue on the Moratorium," between Academician R. Sagdeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, and Academician V. Goldanskiy, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Physical Chemistry Institutes, "recorded by A. Ivkin": "Explosions and Arguments" -- first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] At PRAVDA's request, the prominent Soviet scientists Hero of Socialist Labor Academician R. Sagdeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, and Lenin Prize winner Academician V. Goldanskiy, chief of a section at the USSR Academy of Sciences Physical Chemistry Institute, expound their view on the question of banning nuclear tests.

The Responsibility of Men of Science [subhead]

R. Sagdeyev: Yes, science created nuclear weapons. But since the moment they appeared, scientists have never stopped making appeals and demands to the politicians not to unleash them, but to ban them forever. The testing of an American device with a nuclear charge in the Alamogordo desert took place, as is known, on 16 July 1945, and the first atom bomb (they called it "Little Boy") was dropped on Hiroshima on 6 August. During that brief interval the scientists who created the bomb had attempted to prevent its use in combat. They put forward the idea of carrying out a demonstration explosion in that same desert, so as to show the whole world what colossal destructive force was possessed by the jinn unleashed by them at will, and then call on Japan to surrender without subjecting it to atom bombing. This idea was put forward, in particular, by James Franck's group....

Incidentally, the "Little Boy" bomb was untested. They made it, dripped it, and it worked. This shows that the argument that the nuclear weapons already in the arsenals must be checked for fitness by means of tests is far-fetched.

V. Goldanskiy: A very important role in the development of the scientists' movement against nuclear weapons was played by the well-known Russell-Einstein manifesto, which argued the need for mankind in general and politicians in particular to develop a new way of thinking. A broad movement of scientists to save the world arose -- the Pugwash movement, the movement of doctors, philosophers, representatives of other spheres of science.... The scientists set the task of preventing a repetition of the use of nuclear weapons.

Interestingly, in the United States the initiator of the broad campaign for a comprehensive nuclear test ban was none other than Glenn Seaborg, who discovered plutonium. He chaired the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for about 10 years. In 1983 Seaborg published an article in the journal of the American Chemical Society calling for a comprehensive ban on nuclear explosions. Subsequently he wrote that in the sixties and seventies forms of nuclear weapons had been developed and created which do not require tests to check them.

The journal then published reactions, and nearly all the authors of letters came out in favor of a test ban. There were individuals who were opposed, but they had no serious arguments in defense of their position, they simply asserted that the Soviet Union could not be trusted.

R. Sagdeyev: From the first, the question of a test ban held a special place in the scientists' antiwar movement. The position of the vast majority of them -- in favor of a ban -- was formed long ago. And that is only natural. The point is that all the other questions connected with balanced disarmament are far more complicated, each of them can lead to a mass of supplementary questions. Of course, they, too, will have to be resolved. But the question of ending nuclear tests -- that, it may be said, is clean, even sterile. On the one hand, it is a step which could put an end to the improvement of the most terrible weapons. On the other, it is a reliably verifiable measure. And organizing verification of the observance of a ban is relatively simple and effective. I remember how back at the dawn of the Pugwash movement Soviet and American scientists put forward the idea of "black boxes" -- seismographs which would record underground shocks automatically, without a human presence. The sensitivity and reliability of machinery -- and thus of verification -- have increased enormously since then, especially with the appearance of high frequency apparatus. Doubts as to on-site inspections have also now been eliminated entirely. The Semipalatinsk experiment is clear confirmation of that.

V. Goldanskiy: Various nondestructive methods of monitoring the quality of materials and articles have become widespread, using computer modeling of the behavior of the said objects in different conditions. So explosions are not needed in order to test the reliability of weapons which have already been developed and are in production. Explosions can be replaced by checking individual components and the entire mechanism, but without exploding the nuclear charge, as well as by mathematical experiments performed on computers.

Why Tests Are "Needed" [subhead]

R. Sagdeyev: But if you are developing fundamentally new weapon systems, you cannot rely on computer calculations alone! You cannot get by without tests. In his answers to RUDE PRAVO, M.S. Gorbachev says on this score: "If you want to have new, improved types of weapons, a moratorium is not at all a good idea."

V. Goldanskiy: I think the main reason why the U.S. Administration is not agreeing to end tests is the fate of the "star wars" program, the "strategic defense initiative." For this system, for instance, they need an x-ray laser pumped by a nuclear explosion. In pursuit of this, of necessity, they will not even accept the restriction of the yield of explosions to one kiloton, as is proposed by the U.S. House of Representatives. You can't pump a laser like that with just 1 kiloton.

R. Sagdeyev: There is another reason: to test how machinery behaves in the conditions of nuclear warfare -- whether it will remain viable or will prove unusable. And this,

too, says nothing good about the intentions of those who regard nuclear weapons as an instrument of warfare.

V. Goldanskiy: If nothing is done in the sphere of a test ban, the existing treaty ceiling of 150 kilotons leaves plenty of opportunity for continuing work on "star wars" weapons. This means that the arms race will continue intensively. But even if some interim step is taken -- for instance, if tests are restricted to 1 kiloton -- all the same, relatively wide scope will remain for research on improving compact and aimed [pritselnyy] weapons, and that means the possibility of continuing the arms race -- the creation of new delivery vehicles, the emergence of new spheres of weapons applications, and so forth. All nuclear tests must be banned.

One of the most destabilizing trends in the improvement of nuclear weapons is the creation of special, very high accuracy warheads for the destruction of enemy missile silos. In this case, a large charge is not needed. The creation of warheads with a reduced energy yield is justified in the Pentagon's strategy with the assertion that: given an exchange of strikes by missiles with these warheads, the "nuclear winter" effect will supposedly not ensue. Of course, that is pure propaganda. They want to accustom people to the idea of existing alongside such weapons. A nuclear war, they say, if it happens, will be limited to the battlefield. That is a return, on a new level, to the familiar concept of local nuclear war, of tactical neutron weapons, and an attempt to lull alarmed public opinion.

The Quest for the Absurd [subhead]

R. Sagdeyev: Take another of their arguments against a test ban, the claim that a ban will not be effective, since weapons could somehow be tested unobserved in remote space, on the periphery of the solar system. Yes, we know that space probes can fly to very distant planets and even leave our system (like the American spaceship Pioneer-10, for instance). But this is an entirely fanciful argument if you take into account the cost of such expeditions. Even the richest state cannot afford that kind of expenditure, especially in relation to the objective. Moreover, verification of these tests is possible, too. Science is today capable of registering even very weak signals. For instance, during Vega's flight to Halley's Comet many of the world's radiotelescopes, including American ones, recorded the signal emitted by Vega's balloon, which drifted in the atmosphere of Venus, although the yield of the radiation was only 5 watts! Special equipment for registering flares exists. Moreover every nuclear explosion, as is known, is accompanied by radiation in a very broad spectrum, including the radio spectrum, and indeed the radio waves emitted by a nuclear explosion is one sphere that has been very well studied. So the argument about tests in remote space is simply absurd.

V. Goldanskiy: It seems to me that the supporters of nuclear tests, seeing the vulnerability of their traditional arguments, have now begun to vie with each other in thinking up absolutely fanciful ideas: And what will you say to that, they ask? They say, for instance, that the moratorium costs the Soviet Union nothing, because we have already finished our military programs and caught up with the United States, and therefore we can "take a rest." They say they themselves have fallen behind, and therefore must catch up with us, which means tests. First, there are the figures. This is what is said in the anthology published by SIPRI -- the independent International Peace Research Institute. According to its figures, from 1963, that is, since the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water came into force, until the end of 1985 the United States had carried out 470 underground explosions, while we carried out 399. The 16 British explosions should be added to the American ones, since all the British explosions since that date have

taken place in Nevada and all the data from them are, of course, available to the Americans.

There is reliable information that all the components of the U.S. strategic triad (ground-based ballistic missiles, submarine ballistic missiles, and long-range bombers with nuclear weapons) are equipped with carefully perfected [otrabotannyye] warheads, as are the medium-range nuclear weapons (cruise and Pershing-2 missiles stationed in Europe on the territory of certain NATO states). Moreover, they have not yet built the Midgetman missile, yet the warhead for it has been created and tested. What do they still need to do? If there is something they have not yet done, it applies entirely to the next generation of weapons, designed to break parity.

R. Sagdeyev: I have heard another "argument" too. The Russians, they say, have no great need of tests, because the electronics on their warheads are primitive, while the American design is far more complex, so its viability has to be tested more often. I would echo M.S. Gorbachev's words: "If the Americans doubt the reliability of their nuclear arsenal, let them elaborate an agreement on a test ban, and our specialists will share with them the 'secrets' of how to check on the condition of nuclear charges without tests."

Peaceful Work Can Be Found [subhead]

V. Goldanskiy: The supporters of continuing the arms race are fond of asking: In the event of a nuclear test ban, in the event of disarmament, what will happen to the huge apparatus of scientists, engineers, and technicians who have been working professionally for decades on improving these weapons? Will they be pushed onto the street? On behalf of many specialists, both Soviet and foreign, many of whom I have a long personal acquaintance with, I can say: The sphere of peaceful nuclear research is so broad and contains so much that it is still unknown and tempting, that those who are now forced to engage in military research will devote themselves to peaceful work with great enthusiasm. Incidentally, when the problems of dismantling warheads and turning nuclear explosives into fuel for reactors arise, nobody will be better equipped than these specialists to cope with these tasks.

R. Sagdeyev: Of course, the weapons manufacturers are a very powerful detachment in the camp of opponents of a test ban. It is very difficult to change their minds. And they are to blame not only for the fact that the mountains of weapons continue senselessly -- to grow, but also for the fact that a very dangerous process of spiritual corruption is taking place in people who could do much that would be useful to mankind, but instead are making these terrible things. [Sagdeyev ends]

By setting forth our view, the two academicians said in conclusion, we would like to make our contribution to the scientists' struggle against the threat of nuclear war and to the Soviet Union's peace offensive.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR'S VELIKHOV CALLS FOR 'TOTAL NUCLEAR TEST BAN'

PM291420 Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 29 Sep 86 pp 82-83

[Article by Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Total Nuclear Test Ban"]

[Text] The general international situation, recent statements by the U.S. Administration, and the developments connected with space weapons make it difficult to forecast which of the treaties signed in the seventies will remain in force in the nineties. The destruction of the SALT II treaty and the continuation of nuclear tests could lead to an endless multiplication of nuclear missiles. If we analyze the 5-year plan for strategic forces development published in the United States we will see that these forces will increase by 40-50 percent.

But the danger lies not only in quantitative growth but also in qualitative changes in nuclear weapons. The consequence is the construction of the high-precision missile, the MX nuclear missile, submarine-based missiles, and others that threaten the other side's retaliatory capability. The emergence of these weapons disrupts the strategic balance and generates world tension. "Third generation" weapons are based on the directional use of nuclear energy to destroy specific targets. The United States proposes to use them not only in space but also in local conflicts or as a means of exerting political pressure.

How is such a development of events to be averted? The first measure would have to be a cessation of nuclear tests through a treaty that ruled out the arms race both on earth and in space. Such a treaty could be complemented by a number of accords, plans for which the USSR has placed on the negotiating table in Geneva. This would initiate the implementation of the program for the elimination of nuclear weapons announced by Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January.

The enemies of an end to nuclear tests put forward various arguments conceived to conceal the real objective of the continuation of such tests -- to create new kinds of weapons. These arguments include the question of supervision. In the sixties major progress was made in the field of seismographic monitoring. A world network composed of 120 stations was created. In the seventies the possibility of satellite monitoring emerged.

Soviet and U.S. scientists are working jointly on a new monitoring project whose aim is to use a new high-frequency band for recording seismic events, which will make it possible to improve the detection and interpretation of nuclear explosions. Soviet and U.S. scientists are also jointly combating the arms race. We therefore have more than enough reasons to insist on the necessity and possibility of reaching a treaty on the complete and global banning of nuclear tests under strict international supervision.

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

LEADING ICELANDIC NEWSPAPER ON LATEST NORDIC INITIATIVE

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 16 Aug 86 p 24

[Editorial: "Discussions On Nuclear Free Zone"]

[Text] The result of the discussions concerning a nuclear weapon free zone at the recent conference of Nordic foreign ministers was that the leaders of the political sections of the foreign ministries were obliged to consider whether there was good reason to form a committee of diplomats to discuss the idea of a nuclear free zone in a substantial manner. That this situation was mentioned in the press releases following the conference shows that the ministers are giving more thought to what they imagine is the general opinion on the issue than to the issue itself as outlined in the press releases. It is the duty of the abovementioned leaders to make the preparations for ministerial conferences and to draw up items for their agendas. At the ministerial conference to be held here in Reykjavik in March, the proposals of the Danish parliament concerning the formation of this committee of diplomats will come up for discussion for the third time. It seems that the diplomats are second-guessing each other as to whether the best course would be to put their colleagues, or even themselves, on a special committee to further discuss the issue.

Regarding the jungle of confusion surrounding this issue in the Nordic arena, it should be mentioned that Prime Minister Steingrímur Hermannsson said after a meeting with his Nordic counterparts shortly before the conference of foreign ministers that the vaguely defined committee of diplomats was being negotiated for. This news was greeted with special glee in the editorial in THJODVILJINN on the Berlin wall! What was involved here was a misunderstanding between THJODVILJINN and the prime minister, as the results from the foreign ministers show. Among the things complicating the issue is the position of the Althing, which was agreed upon about a year ago, that there should be a nuclear weapon free zone established in northern Europe from Greenland to the Ural Mountains.

Ake Sparring, former leader in the Swedish foreign ministry, stressed in MORGUNBLADID not long ago that a nuclear weapon free zone in the Nordic countries would serve the interests of the Soviets both in the political and military sectors. They have unequivocal supremacy in conventional military power in northern Europe. An agreement that the Nordic countries would not be defended with nuclear weapons would inevitably also mean, if military

equilibrium were to be maintained, that the Nordic countries should increase their established military forces "or, what would be even better, that the Soviets should cut back their military forces that are aimed at Scandinavia." Sparring particularly stressed the emphasis that the Soviets had recently put on developing their conventional military forces that could be used for sudden attack. He considers it urgent for the Nordic countries to consider how best to eliminate the possibility of a sudden attack from the Soviet Union. They should, however, continue to discuss the option of nuclear free zones in countries where there are no nuclear weapons.

Nordic politicians have certainly debated long enough about nuclear weapon free zones in the Nordic countries, without coming to any decisions. If we look at the substantial results of the debate, we can safely say that the ship has run aground. And now the politicians are coming back to this old chestnut of a solution: to set up a committee on the issue. The most honest thing for them to do would be to admit that this last session of discussions indicated that the wisest course would be to take the matter off the agenda, and instead to consider together the dangers that would face the Nordic countries if it came to an attack with conventional weapons.

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CSO:5200/2742

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

DPRK DAILY ON ESTABLISHING NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES WORLDWIDE

SK270733 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2140 GMT 26 Sep 86

[NODONG SINMUN 27 September special article: "Let Us Establish and Expand Nuclear-free, Peace Zones Throughout the World"]

[Text] Today the constant danger of thermonuclear war exists on earth due to the U.S. imperialists' maneuvers to increase its military nuclear capability. While brazenly advocating the policy of strength, the U.S. imperialists have greatly increased armaments and have given impetus to the production of nuclear weapons. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists are preparing to provoke a nuclear war by continuously expanding military bases throughout the world and by deploying nuclear weapons on a full-fledged scale. As a result, the dark clouds of nuclear war hang heavily over mankind.

Because of the maneuvers for nuclear war carried out by the U.S. imperialists around the world, the world is at the crossroads of peace or thermonuclear war. A thermonuclear war--a new world war--should be prevented at all costs. Establishing and expanding nuclear-free, peace zones around the world poses a very important question in preventing thermonuclear war.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has declared: Establishing and expanding a nuclear-free, peace zone constitutes the important means to realize nuclear disarmament, prevent nuclear war, and protect peace.

The policy set forth by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song to establish nuclear-free, peace zones around the world and to continuously expand these zones is a scientific policy based on profound analysis of the imperialists' policy for nuclear war and of the peace-protecting forces of the world which oppose this policy. This policy complies with the people's demand and desire to build a peaceful, independent new world by preventing the danger of war and by preserving durable peace and security throughout the world.

Our party's policy reflects an outstanding plan for peace, which can prevent a local nuclear war--a regional war--from expanding into a worldwide thermonuclear war by eliminating the source of the war.

The overall world situation develops in close conjunction with situations in different regions, and situations in individual areas directly or indirectly influence the world situation. If the regional situation is not stable, the

world situation will not be quiet as a whole. History's worldwide wars, without exception, started by conflicts between individual countries--that is, regional disputes and conflicts. In the instances of the two world wars, the sources of war were found in individual countries and regions and gradually expanded, as a result of the lighting of their fuses into world wars.

Today the U.S. imperialists have built the hotbeds of war, especially sources for nuclear war, around the world. Having established more than 1,500 military bases and facilities in 32 countries around the world, they have deployed a vast number of troops, more than 500,000 personnel. In particular, they have amassed great quantities of nuclear explosives on the U.S. mainland and at important overseas bases, aiming at nuclear war. If a war is touched off at any of the war hotbeds, it will easily spread into a nuclear war, a world war.

While trying to fulfill a wild desire to conquer the entire world by strength, the U.S. imperialists have greatly increased nuclear armaments and have accelerated preparations for a nuclear war. In particular, having come up with an adventurous star wars plan, they are trying to expand maneuvers to increase nuclear armaments into space. Because of the U.S. imperialists' maneuvers to prepare for nuclear war, we cannot tell when the fuse of a new war might be lit at their military bases or at hotbeds of nuclear war around the world. Because of this, the peace-loving people of the world face eliminating all U.S. imperialists' hotbeds of new war to protect world peace and security. It is therefore important in this regard to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone.

[SK270735] Today the people of the world vigorously wage the antiwar, anti-nuclear, and peace-protecting struggle everywhere. Encompassing a greater number of countries and people, this struggle is being waged with unprecedented size and depth.

Under circumstances in which the people's antiwar, antinuclear, and peace-protecting struggle has vigorously developed on a global scale, a movement is steadily being carried out to establish nuclear-free, peace zones around the world, including Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Europe, Northern Europe, the Balkan Peninsula, the Mediterranean Sea, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, the South Pacific Ocean, Africa, Latin America, and the South Atlantic Ocean. This shows that the movement to oppose the U.S. imperialists' maneuvers for nuclear war and to establish nuclear-free, peace zones around the world has developed into a powerful worldwide trend.

The movement to establish nuclear-free, peace zones--which has proceeded from an urgent demand to guarantee peace and security in the region to which one's country belongs--is an important lever designed to strengthen the worldwide antiwar, antinuclear, and peace-protecting struggle.

In eliminating hotbeds of nuclear war it is urgent to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone on the Korean peninsula where the greatest danger of nuclear war exists. South Korea has been turned into the largest forward nuclear base in the Far East and into a hotbed of war. South Korea, where more than 1,000 nuclear weapons have been deployed, ranks first in the world in density of deployment of nuclear weapons.

The U.S. imperialists have brazenly raved that they would use nuclear weapons against the Korean people and have wickedly staged such a preliminary nuclear war as the "Team Spirit" military exercise.

The danger of the fuse of a nuclear war being lit on the Korean peninsula is very great. Such being the case, turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone is directly related to guaranteeing world peace and security. If a nuclear-free, peace zone is established on the Korean peninsula, one of the most dangerous sources of nuclear war would be eliminated, which would develop into a very favorable situation for preserving world peace. The proposal advanced by the DPRK Government to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone on the Korean peninsula meets this demand completely.

The international conference recently held in Pyongyang to discuss turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone clearly demonstrated the urgent need to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone on the Korean peninsula and the positive support for and firm solidarity with our proposal from the progressive and peace-loving people around the world.

We cannot imagine the antiwar, antinuclear, and peace-protecting movement and the movement to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone without the struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces, especially the U.S. imperialists, who have hatched a wicked plot to provoke a thermonuclear war, a world war.

It is important for the progressive and peace-loving people of the world to positively wage throughout the world the struggle to check and foil the U.S. imperialists' policy for aggression and war and their maneuvers to provoke a nuclear war by upholding the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S., antiwar, and anti-nuclear banner and by extensively forming a united front and to apply strong pressure to them to force them to withdraw the aggressive troops and the nuclear weapons they have deployed in other countries and to respond to the people's demand to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone.

Only through struggle can the people of the world fulfill their just demands. Our people will much more vigorously struggle to establish and expand nuclear-free, peace zones on the Korean peninsula and in various areas throughout the world with the peace-loving people of the world.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

BRIEFS

WARSHIPS CALL AT SASEBO--Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture, 1 September KYODO--More U.S. warships called at the port of Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture, Monday morning, joining four U.S. naval ships which are already at the port, including the battleship New Jersey. It is the largest assembly of U.S. warships at a Japanese port since the Vietnam war. The seven warships, including missile cruisers 6,570-ton Jouett and 5,670-ton Leahy, are from the carrier group Carl Vinson, an 81,600-ton nuclear-powered carrier. The warships are at port for supplies and crew rest, a spokesman of the U.S. navy base at Sasebo said. The seven warships are scheduled to stay here until Friday. The 45,000-ton battleship New Jersey and the 5,770-ton destroyer Merrill--both of which are equipped with launchers for Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles--and two other ships, including the 3,750-ton thresher-class submarine Pollach, are to leave the port Tuesday. All the warships are likely to join a major naval exercise in the Sea of Japan, Japanese defense sources said. The U.S. aircraft carrier group of the 60,000-ton aircraft carrier Ranger, is also likely to join in the war games the sources said. A total of some 20-30 warships are expected to take part in the exercise this month. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0409 GMT 1 Sep 86 OW] /12913

JAPAN STANCE ON U.S. TEST BAN--Nagasaki, 6 September, KYODO--Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari rejected Saturday a proposal by a group of "Hibakusha" atomic bomb survivors that Japan urge the United States to follow the Soviet Union in suspending nuclear tests. Kuranari, meeting journalists at his electoral home here, said a third party must stay away from matters which should be discussed by American and Soviet experts. Kuranari said, however, he will make the best effort to achieve a total abolition of nuclear arms as the foreign minister of the world's only atom-bombed country. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0530 GMT 6 Sep 86 OW] /12913

OKINAWAN ANTINUCLEAR CONFERENCE OPENS--The Okinawan conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs sponsored by the Okinawa Prefectural Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs opens in Naha on 26 September to mark the 41st anniversary of the atomic bombing. The main theme for the 3-day session is Asia and the Pacific Region Opposing Nuclear Arms. The congress has engaged in struggles opposing nuclear arms and military bases. On the first day, a general meeting will be held at the Education and Welfare Hall in Furushima, Naha, at 1800 hours, and then a symposium will be held with two antiwar activists from New Zealand and the Philippines participating. Both the governments and the people of New Zealand have made efforts to

prevent port calls by nuclear-capable vessels, and Clark base of the U.S. forces located in the Philippines. On 27 September, some 300 participants, including representatives from mainland Japan, will attend panel discussions to discuss three major topics, such as measures for strengthening international solidarity. [Text] [Naha Radio NHK in Japanese 2210 GMT 25 Sep 86] /9604

CSO: 5260/033

RELATED ISSUES

JAPAN: KURANARI, KISSINGER ADDRESS DEFENSE SYMPOSIUM

OW081131 Tokyo KYODO in English 0933 GMT 8 Sep 86

[Text] Kyoto, 8 September KYODO--Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari Monday called on Western defense experts to pay more attention to Asian interests in the ongoing arms control talks between the East and the West.

In a welcoming speech at the 28th general meeting of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) being held Monday through Thursday in Kyoto, Kuranari stressed the need to attain a lower level of balance in the strength of nuclear forces between the two sides.

Referring to the deployment of the Soviet's "SS-20" missiles, Kuranari pointed to the differences in the conception of threat between the Western allies in Europe and the Asian countries, saying that the allies should not allow the increased Soviet influence to threaten Asia's security.

However, "Japan is fully aware that the Soviet deployment of SS-20's is intended to undermine political relations among Western allies," Kuranari added.

The foreign minister appealed to the audience of about 300 defense experts from 35 countries saying, "The important thing is that the Western allies should continue dialogue despite its different viewpoints on security issues."

In a plenary session following Kuranari's speech, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, currently professor of international relations at Georgetown University, Washington D.C., gave a speech entitled "East Asia, the Pacific and the West--the Strategic Trends and Implications."

Topics for the four-day conference, the first time it has been held outside of North America and the West, will include: U.S. military power in the Pacific, problems and prospects--Soviet influence in East Asia and the Pacific in the coming decade, trade, technology and security, implications for Asia and the West. Experts from China and South Korea are also taking part in the meeting. The proceedings of the conference are private and off the record.

The IISS was established in 1958 as an independent international research center concerned with the "policy-oriented" study of problems of maintaining peace, the causes of conflicts and the control of armaments. The organization, which annually publishes a defense guidebook "The Military Balance," has 2,600 members in 72 countries, 80 percent of whom are from Europe and the United States, officials said.

RELATED ISSUES

PRC JOURNAL ON DISARMAMENT, SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT

HK021324 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU in Chinese No 3, 13 Jul 86 pp 17-21, 53

[Article by Pei Monong [5952 7817 6593]: "Disarmament, Security, and Development"]

[Text] Editor's note: The trio of disarmament, development, and security are mutually related. International security is a necessary condition for development. Disarmament and development can also promote international security. The arms race endangers international security and also affects economic development. People have reason to demand that the superpowers stop the arms race at once and enforce disarmament so as to promote world economic development and facilitate international security. [End editor's note]

I.

Disarmament and security have long been important problems in post-war international relations. Disarmament and development are also related to each other with great importance. Disarmament, development, and security are the triumvirate of peace. The three are mutually related. International security is a necessary condition for development, but disarmament and development can also facilitate international security. The facts over many years have amply shown that the arms race and development contradict each other. They repel each other and should not, and cannot, coexist for long.

Ensuring state security is an inalienable right of a sovereign nation, but the concept of security is not equivalent to peace. In international relations, security based on seeking the objective of military supremacy cannot bring reliable peace. Peace with friendly cooperation as its foundation is frequently and relatively more stable. World peace requires common international security. Without common security, it is difficult to ensure stable and sustained peace.

Here we need to define this concept of common security. When a country's security does not harm another country's security and both are thus able to pursue economic and social development at ease--this is common security. To pursue economic and social development under such circumstances may also lead

to the development of international friendly cooperation, achieve common prosperity, and promote world peace.

To maintain a country's security, military strength is naturally necessary. But military strength cannot be expanded without limits, otherwise it will not foster security but greater insecurity. Seeking military supremacy will necessarily break the balance of military power. When the two superpowers start and take part in an arms race and make their military strength far surpass the needs of the security of their own country, then neither is able to have a sense of security and the whole world feels jittery. Security cannot be procured through an arms race and the price paid is enormous. Only through disarmament, through seeking solutions by political means and on the basis of disarmament, and through resorting to the five principles of peaceful coexistence to ensure necessary security can there be benefits for all parties.

An arms race endangers international security on many sides. It seriously aggravates military confrontation, increases global and regional political tension, adds to the possibility of the occurrence of occasional incidents and the eruption of serious military conflicts, entices the use of nuclear weapons or their employment to carry out threats, and stifles the efforts of various countries to improve and develop their relationships with each other on the basis of mutual cooperation and equality. It encourages alliances and intensifies confrontation, and thereby impedes progress in establishing a more stable world.

The arms race and economic development both require large amounts of manpower and material resources. Since resources are limited; excesses on one side will naturally affect the other. An increase in arms will necessarily impede development. Military expenditures' demand on resources contradicts the demand on resources by socio-economic development. It affects the priority of allocation for resources not directly used for military objectives and aggravates the degree of tension in the utilization of resources. This tension can also revert to becoming a factor for the arms race and intensify the demands on resources. On the other hand, disarmament can facilitate the utilization of global resources and reduce the conflict between the two.

In comparison with any other period in history, the global economic prospects of the 1980's are much more closely related to actual development in the realm of disarmament. Since the end of the 1970's, the fact of the two large military blocs taking the lead in using large amounts of manpower and resources for military expansion has produced increasingly passive effects on the world's economy. Any big disarmament measure will be beneficial to the economies of the developed and developing countries.

Disarmament is beneficial to development and helps in overcoming non-military threats to the welfare and security of a country. Moreover, it is beneficial to stabilizing and strengthening international peace. Development can contribute to the making of a more secure world. Hence, the relationship

between disarmament and development may be said to be one in which they supplement each other and bring each other's strong points strongly into play, and should be examined from the angle of mutual reliance for existence on a global basis.

Following the intensification of all arms races and the increase in military expenditures, manpower and material resources will be consumed at an increasing rate. If this vicious cycle is not rectified, the limited material resources will become more exhausted each day, the problem of international economic development will become more complex, and the world will become all the more insecure. A sustained arms race is a dangerous and acute challenge to mankind. Human society requires development, peace, manpower and material resources, and disarmament and a stop to the arms race, or at least a large-scale reduction of military expenses so as to strengthen security, maintain peace, and facilitate development. This is the demand of history and currently is the most topic facing mankind.

II.

If we examine how an endless arms race and continuously increasing military expenses have alarmingly consumed manpower, resources, and material power, we can then understand the urgency of disarmament and its importance to human security and development. The figures mentioned below reflect only a part of the situation and not the whole truth.

During the 4 short years from 1978 to 1982 of the special arms conference of the United Nations, the world's military expenses exceeded \$1,006 billion. This figure implies that in 1981 the expenses were \$1 million and that during that year the world's military expenses were as high as \$500 to \$600 billion. (See the special report "Economic and Social Effects of the Arms Race and Military Expenses," published in 1983 by the United Nations)

In 1980, the world's military expenses amounted to \$500 billion (averaging \$10 per capita), which was 6 percent of the world's gross output value. It was a 400 percent increase over the early post-war period, a 2,500 percent increase over the early part of this century, and 1,900 percent more than the official aid given to the developing nations by the Economic Cooperation and Development Organization of the United Nations. Making another comparison, it was larger than the annual living expenses of the total population of 240 million in Latin America and 1.3 billion people in Africa and South Asia.

According to another set of statistics, in the 20 years from 1960 to 1980, military expenses averaged an annual growth rate of 3 percent. If in the next 20 years from now the same rate of increase still holds, then by 1990 the military expenses will amount to \$671.9 billion, and by 2000 will be \$950 billion. In reality, in recent years military expenses have been increasing at an annual growth rate of 5 percent. ("Special Report on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development," published in 1982 by the United Nations. Unless otherwise stated, the statistics cited in this

article are from this report). In 1985 they already exceeded \$900 billion. ("Relationship Between Disarmament and Development," a declaration by a sub-group of noted figures published by the United Nations in April 1986) It will not be long before they surpass the peak of \$1,000 billion.

Here it must be pointed out that of the expenses in the whole world, 75 percent of those on military expenses, 90 percent on arms export, and 99 percent on military research and development were from the developed countries of the United States, the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Britain, with the United States and the Soviet Union occupying the largest portions. The two superpowers and the two large military blocs possess by far the largest portion of military strength, weapons, and to-notch military technology and warfare equipment.

According to estimates, in the world at present, the positioning of over 40,000 nuclear warheads had already been made. Their total explosive power exceeds by one million times that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The two large nuclear nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, own 95 percent of the world's nuclear weapons. The outbreak of a nuclear war between them will kill 250 million people immediately and several days or several weeks later more deaths and casualties will be reported.

Since the signing in 1963 of the treaty banning a portion of nuclear test explosions, there has been no sign of any decrease in nuclear tests. In fact, between 1977 and 1981 each year there were about 50 test explosions, much larger than the annual average of 37 tests in the preceding 4 years. In 1981 alone, there were 49 nuclear tests and the great majority of them were made by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Weapons are continuously being renovated. The developed countries always have the practice of selling their outdated weapons to the developing countries, frequently with a string of political conditions attached to the transactions, thus increasing the subservient character of the weapons-importing countries. In 1980, arms sales and labor expenses amounted to \$35 billion. Some 75 percent of them were exported to developing countries, of which one-third went to the Middle East. Arms transactions have greatly increased the burden of the importing countries. Many of the countries contracted foreign loans for the purpose of arms purchase. Of the 20 countries which had large debt accumulations in 1983, their weapons imports from 1987 to 1980 were equivalent to increasing their foreign indebtedness by 20 percent, while in four of the countries the value of their arms imports was equivalent to increasing their foreign indebtedness by 40 percent ("Special Report on the Relations Between Disarmament and Development," Published by the United Nations in 1982).

During the period 1977-81, international arms transactions, including weapons and services, were as high as \$120-140 billion, of which two-thirds were sold to developing countries with rather tense relations with each other. About one-third of the arms transactions were made among the developed countries. The great majority of the arms supplying countries and arms receiving countries belonged to either one military group or the other military group. As

for the remaining two-thirds of the transactions, they were made between the developed countries and the developing countries, with the former acting as the arms supplying countries ("Report on the World's Social Situation," published by the United Nations in 1985).

As for the consumption of manpower resources, according to 1980 statistics, during that year, in the whole world roughly 100 million people were directly or indirectly engaged in military or military-related activities. Among them were military people, seamen, astronauts, officials, scholars, scientists, engineers, and workers. They included 25 million people in military services (the two military blocs made up over 40 percent); 10 million serving in units of a supplementary military nature; over 5 million directly engaged in military production; and 4 million non-military personnel working in military establishments (of this, 9 countries including the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France, FRG, and Japan accounted for 62.5 percent). In addition, half a million scientists and engineers (making up 20 percent of the world's total) are engaged in the research on and development of military industries. This is to say, some 10 million people are directly engaged in purely military activities.

In 1976, in the United States, 1.79 million people were engaged in arms production, 30 to 35 percent of the world's total number of workers in arms production; 3 to 6 million people were non-directly engaged in arms production. In the whole world, some 43.5 million people were estimated to have been engaged in businesses related to arms production. Of the world's industrial output value, 28 to 32 percent were related to military orders.

In 1976-1977, the arms output value of the United States, Soviet Union, France, Britain, the FRG, Italy, and seven other relatively small countries in Western Europe amounted to \$95.5 billion, 91 percent of the world's total arms output value of \$105 billion (a rather conservative estimate). In 1980, the world's arms output value amounted to \$127.5 billion, with the above-mentioned countries accounting for 90 percent or above.

The consumption of mining resources by the defense industry is also frightening. Using petroleum as an example, the consumption is roughly 5 to 6 percent of the world's total consumption, or nearly equivalent to 50 percent of the crude oil consumption of all the developing countries (China excepted).

Production of the defense industry in North America and Western Europe consumed two-thirds of the annual output of nine major kinds of mineral products. Between 1971 and 1975, the defense industry production of the developing countries consumed 7 percent of the aluminum output. In 1950, the United States imported only four major kinds of mineral products for the defense industry. In 1976, the number had increased to 23.

Viewed from the economic angle, the military sector is an enormous consumer. The volume of energy and mineral products it consumes is frightening. According to estimates, countries with large military enterprises consume roughly 7 percent of their crude oil output for military purposes. If other related

consumption is included, this figure would increase to 8 percent. Because of the progress in military technology, the demand for the relatively important mineral products such as iron and steel has been on the decrease, but the demand for other metallic products such as aluminum and titanium has increased. With the rise in the consumption of resources for military purposes, the resources available for and needed by civilian industries are correspondingly reduced. The result is an all-round decline in the economic growth rate. Most importantly, the interruption of the supply of energy and industrial raw materials will cause an obvious fall in industrial production and the gross value of domestic production of the developed countries.

According to estimates, the area of land used for military purposes is 0.3 to 0.5 percent of the world's total land area.

In 1980, the research and development expenses of the world's defense industry amounted to \$35 billion, roughly one-fourth of the total research and development expenses of \$150 billion. It was at least 600 percent more than the total expenses spent on research and development by all the developing countries. Roughly 20 to 25 percent of the manpower and natural resources were consumed in military research and development.

Manpower and material resources used for military purposes include raw materials and mining products, capital funds, and technology. Resources consumed in military matters are generally acknowledged to be a factor in the national economy. Research in this regard shows that military expenses belong to the consumptive type and not the productive type. Hence, the short-term economic benefits from military expenses will endanger the formation of resources for long-term civilian use such as capital, labor power, energy, and mining products, and will lead to the decline of the productive forces and competitive power. The post-war prosperity of the United States mainly relied on stimulation from wartime economy, but a prolonged wartime economy will lead to the depression of capitalism in the United States (Seymour Melman: "Long-term Wartime Economy: American Capitalism on the Decline") The 1980-82 economic depression is a sort of reflection of the intensification of the arms contest.

III.

The security problem of the developing countries is especially urgent. The 10-year period from 1975 to 1985, the population increase of the developing countries was 23 percent. How economic development is suited to population growth is a realistic problem. Many of the developing countries are facing the threat of war and poverty. Since between the developed countries and the developing countries the state of mutual dependence economically is steadily growing, considerations about the security of the developing countries are producing increasingly important effects on the whole international situation. Internal disturbances in the national security of the developing countries can easily attract the superpowers' intervention politically, economically, or militarily.

The evil influences of arms competition and huge military expenses on people's lives can hardly be estimated. According to an analysis made by specialists, the effects of the enormous consumption of resources for the purpose of arms improvement on the part of the two large military blocs have brought the lives of 2.1 billion people in the world to the brink of dire poverty, with thousands upon thousands of human beings unable to obtain drinking water and losing their capacity to adjust to environmental changes and to resist natural disasters. Concrete estimates made by the World Bank show that in the whole world, 800 million people live in a state of abject poverty and absolute helplessness, 570 million people do not have enough to eat, 800 million people are illiterate, 1.5 billion people cannot obtain or can obtain only very little medical treatment, and 250 million children have no schooling. Roughly one-half of the world's population live in food-deficient countries. It is anticipated that by the year 2000 the shortage of grain in the world will be 175 tons.

World public health organs cannot help pointing out in anguish that for a period of 10 years they spent only \$100 million on the elimination of smallpox, but that in the same period the sum total spent by one country on developing a relatively advanced small air-to-air missile was by far larger. Moreover, over the past 15 years the amount of population aid spent by the United Nations from its population activities funds was only slightly more than \$1 billion whereas this amount was equivalent to only 8 hours of military expenses.

In short, the results were that the poorest countries were affected the worst. Speaking of the developing countries as a whole, their per capita actual income at present is lower than in the final period of the 1970's. "A score of countries have lost over 10 years of development time." (World Bank: "1985 World Development Report") In other words, the economic and social benefits achieved by the developing countries over the past 20 years are truly in danger of being lost in their entirety. The most seriously affected countries no longer can supply the basic needs of their people such as food grain, drinking water, medical care, and education, and, needless to say, can hardly pay any attention to development.

Among the developing countries, the urgent task at present is to merge the various targets of economic development into the process of development. But to reach these objectives, the hindrances are numerous: 1) The resources needed by the national economy are limited. 2) Maintaining a country's security and seeking its economic development both require resources. It is difficult to attend to both at the same time. 3) The unstable world economic climate and the state of world capital and financial markets are all disadvantageous to the developing countries. The credits and loans of the International Development Federation have fallen from the peak of \$3.8 billion in 1980 to \$3 billion in 1985 (without taking into account the factor of currency inflation). The special withdrawal rights from the International Monetary Fund dropped sharply from \$14.1 billion in 1983 to \$8.1 billion in 1984 and \$4.2 billion in 1985. Commodity prices have dropped to the lowest

point of the past 27 years. In 1986, the cumulative indebtedness of the developing countries will amount to \$1,010 billion.

Naturally, the developing countries are most concerned with the problem of disarmament, because disarmament is not only beneficial to their security but also helpful to their development. 1) The military expenses of the developing countries will aggravate the world's economic difficulties, whereas disarmament measures can improve the world's economic atmosphere. 2) By means of disarmament, the developed countries can reallocate certain resources and this will help their economic development. 3) Disarmament will increase the sense of security and is beneficial to economic development, keeps conflicts more readily under control, and limits the growth of arms. 4) The developing countries' reduction of military expenses will make more of their domestic resources available for economic development.

The military burden of the developing countries is unbalanced. A large portion of the expenses is centralized in the oil-exporting countries and other countries with a high income. In 1984, of the total volume of military expenses of the developing countries, the oil-exporting countries and other developing countries with a high income respectively accounted for 44 percent and 38 percent while the other developing countries accounted for only 18 percent. However, in 1984, the military expenses of all the developing countries occupied about 20 percent of the world's total. Compared with their gross national product, the burden is still excessive.

Military expenses constitute an extremely heavy burden. This is particularly true with developing countries. This is because the expenses cannot produce any value. Money spent on soldiers cannot be used to develop agriculture or to set up more schools. If the limited foreign exchange of a nation is wholly expended on the purchase of military equipment, then it can no longer be used to import the much needed tractors for agriculture or industrial machines or medicines.

When the developed countries feel that their military expenses have increased and that their budgetary or current financial position has been correspondingly affected, their intention and ability to provide aid to the developing countries for economic and social development will be on the downturn. Moreover, if the increase in military expenses is accompanied by an aggravation in the world's tense situation, then they frequently lend more military aid than economic aid and concentrate their aid on the strategically important countries. The size of their aid frequently depends on security as the main factor, and only a small number of countries will be given relatively more and larger aid. This trend of development of the international economy, particularly vis-a-vis the development of those countries which enjoy little or no strategic importance, is passive in nature.

Under such conditions, the developing countries have little choice in their policy decisions. On the other hand, the developing countries definitely require that their regional security be strengthened so as to reduce the

chances of conflicts. Global disarmament carries a constructive meaning in arranging for this kind of regional security and the reallocation of domestic resources for economic development.

The 1984 report on conventional disarmament made by the secretary general of the United Nations thus stated: Since 1945, there have been over 150 cases of military conflicts or clashes, causing some 20 million people to lose their lives. Nearly all these clashes occurred among the developing countries. Judging from the current trend, there is no reason to believe that the accidental nature and serious nature of armed conflicts can be reduced or averted.

The cause of these wars is mostly the legacy of history. The main responsibility should be borne by the adherents of former colonialism. In some cases, the cause was due to the big countries interfering in or flaming the disputes. These big countries were originally states of colonialism or states enforcing the policy of hegemonism. Even though some of the disputing states resorted to the use of the armed force of their own accord, if there were no big countries to supply the arms and munitions, war could hardly be started, and even if started, could not last long.

In the 1960's and the 1970's, each year the number of deaths arising from armed clashes exceeded the sum total of deaths resulting from other big disasters. In Africa, in countries suffering most seriously from drought and food shortage, the disasters were frequently accompanied and duplicated by war disasters. The same kind of conditions have likewise appeared in some of the developing countries. War not only brings about the loss of human lives and property, but also has long-term adverse effects on the environment. For example, population migration and changes in the place of abode of people increase the pressures for land and wreck the environment. The hidden consequences of a nuclear war are even more serious.

Armed conflicts make organized economic development all the more difficult. There are no accurate statistics on the actual amount of property losses suffered by the developing countries because of war. Armed clashes are definitely the catalytic agents of military expenses and purchase of weapons. Under ordinary conditions, economic development is already extremely difficult. It is utterly impossible for countries continuously suffering from the effects of armed conflicts to enforce a policy of long-term development.

These facts on the international stage illustrate the close relationship between disarmament and development. There always exists an urgent demand for the possibility of simultaneously attaining these two objectives so that by means of disarmament the resources are reallocated to give way to economic and social development. To fully realize this possibility, it is necessary to change the whole attitude toward disarmament and to reassign a new priority order in politics.

IV.

The arms race has already become a threat to the security of many countries. Disarmament under effective international control, particularly nuclear disarmament, will directly raise security and improve socio-economic development.

Since the main threat to world peace and international security comes from the arms race between the two superpowers, particularly from their nuclear arms race and their foreign policies, people have reason to demand of them that there be an immediate stop to the arms race; concurrent reduction of arms and primarily nuclear disarmament; undertaking of the obligation not to be the first under any conditions to use nuclear weapons and never to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against nuclear-free countries and nuclear-free zones; making the assurance never to use chemical weapons; giving the assurance of making out space non-militarized; concurrent large-scale reduction of conventional arms; and immediately stopping interference in any form in other countries' domestic affairs.

For the purposes of definitely ensuring security and peace, solving well the problems of "hot spots" or of potential conflicts so as to ease and stabilize the situation in the relevant areas, all countries should, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, establish and develop reciprocal relations and continue to devote their efforts to the establishment of a new international economic order.

The various countries should observe the aim and principles of the UN Charter, support the various kinds of work carried out by the United Nations in accordance with the spirit of the Charter and the efforts devoted to disarmament and development, and fully bring into play the role of the United Nations in maintaining world peace.

It may well be anticipated that disarmament, development, and security constitute the triumvirate of peace and that this will be acknowledged by an increasing number of countries and peoples. All peace-loving countries and peoples should rise and take action to ask of the superpowers to earnestly enter into negotiations and realize real disarmament and, at the same time, adopt other measures to promote world economic development and facilitate international peace and security.

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